Institute of Social and Religious Research

THE STRATEGY OF CITY CHURCH PLANNING

Ross W. Sanderson
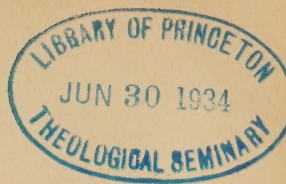
The Strategy
Of City Church Planning

By

ROSS W. SANDERSON

NEW YORK
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

This volume follows a definite sequence of studies of the city church published by the Institute of Social and Religious Research during the last decade.

Studies of the churches in St. Louis and in Springfield, Mass., resulted in *The St. Louis Church Survey* (1924) and *The Springfield Church Survey* (1926). Studies of individual churches and of types of churches resulted in *1000 City Churches—Phases of Adaptation to Urban Environment* (1926) and *The Church in the Changing City—Case Studies Illustrating Adaptation* (1927). These studies led into the field of Protestant coöperation. Accordingly there appeared in 1930 *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities*. This had been preceded by a special volume on *Church Comity—A Study of Coöperative Church Extension in American Cities* (1929) and by a special study of *Minneapolis Churches and Their Comity Problems* (1929).

All of this work on the urban church pointed inevitably to the necessity of some more fundamental Protestant strategy, built on a knowledge of social change and of church progress in the typical American city. Accordingly the director of the city church studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, Dr. H. Paul Douglass, proposed that a study be made of the strategy of city church planning. In due time the project was approved by the board of directors of the Institute, and Dr. Douglass was appointed project director. The objective of the study was defined thus: To ascertain and evaluate those outstanding determinative factors involved in the problem of city church planning which may be advantageously and directly utilized, and the deliberate control which has actually been introduced.

The study involved sixteen cities or sectors of cities, which were divided into a total of 317 survey districts.

In this territory a total of 1,970 churches were statistically studied. These churches belonged to forty-seven denominational bodies. Schedules containing more than two hundred items of information were filled out by pastors or other representatives of 994 of these churches. Special attention was given to 247 churches which proved to be exceptional in that their progress was contrary to the social trends in their environment. The period studied was approximately the decade 1920 to 1930.

Wilbur C. Hallenbeck and Ross W. Sanderson were appointed associate directors of the study. Work was begun early in December, 1929, with an experimental analysis of the situation in Cleveland, Ohio. At the close of this first field study the methodology was revised and refined. Field work was completed about June 1, 1931. Early in the progress of the study Dr. Douglass was asked to undertake other Institute tasks, and the active direction of the work fell to the writer.

The field staff unite in grateful acknowledgment of the courtesies shown them and the coöperation afforded them in the sixteen cities. It would be quite futile to attempt to list even the names of the organizations and personnel to whom this debt of gratitude is owed. They include Councils of Churches or their equivalent, denominational leadership, Councils of Social Agencies, Christian Associations, commercial and civic bodies, educational institutions, pastors of churches, and especially a variety of research workers at work under various auspices in the different cities. It was a constant and happy surprise to the fieldworkers to see how generously busy people were willing to give of their time and counsel so that facts might be gathered accurately and quickly.

Finally, the writer of this volume is under unusual obligation to acknowledge, first of all, his personal indebtedness to Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, his colleague throughout the entire period of field work and the first summary of the data, and to Dr. H. Paul Douglass, on whose work this

study has been built, by whom it was originally planned, and whose counsel throughout has been generously given. From the field reports of these two men this volume appropriates phrases, sentences and whole paragraphs, without the formality of quotation marks. This blanket acknowledgment must suffice as an expression of personal gratitude for their indispensable assistance. Second, this book, like all the published volumes of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, owes to the constructive criticism of the technical staff of the Institute, a large part of any merit that it may possess. Third, the writer would not overlook the fact that no such volume would be possible without the aid of willing and loyal secretarial and clerical assistance in the office of the Institute and elsewhere.

On the other hand, the final responsibility for the exact language of this volume rests squarely on the shoulders of the writer. It is his hope that this book will prove to be a fruitful point of departure for many future studies, national and local, undertaken under a great variety of auspices.

Note: In the series of maps in Chapter II it should be noted that, as explained in the text, the terms "best" and "worst" territory are used with reference not to status but to change.

CONTENTS

TABLES

xi

CHARTS

MAPS

The Strategy
Of City Church Planning

LIKE CITY, LIKE CHURCH

Dominating the background of the city church and the consciousness of its leaders is the fact of social change. Some churches are most vitally affected by the trends in their immediate neighborhoods, others by the development of new city-wide interest groups. This study sets out to discover whether there is any general correspondence between urban church progress and social change, and what meaning any actual correspondence between the two may have for church strategy. In this opening chapter the general results of the inquiry are summarized in advance. By focussing attention on two sorts of exceptional churches—those that fail in the midst of advantage, and those that succeed in the midst of adversity—some of the requirements of an adequate Protestant strategy in the American city are discovered. What is here sketched in outline is presented in greater detail in succeeding chapters.

THE CHANGING CITY AND ITS CHURCHES

Both the city and its churches are changing with unprecedented rapidity. Is there any relationship between what is happening to the city and what is happening to its churches? If so, what is that relationship? To investigate this problem requires first that social change in the city be measured, second that the progress of the churches be studied, and third that the results of the two inquiries be compared.

The city has long been the subject of sociological investigation, and the city's churches have been surveyed from many angles. Consequently, this study was able to start

where earlier studies in the same field left off. It is only necessary here to summarize briefly the well-established facts of urban change and their consequences for urban institutions, especially the church.

<div align="center">THE CITY SORTS ITS PEOPLE</div>

Different sorts of people live in different parts of the city, rich in some neighborhoods, poor in others. These neighborhoods may be close together or they may be miles apart; in either case the social distance between them is very great. What cultural development takes place in poorer neighborhoods has to be stimulated, if not provided, from outside.

In neighborhoods where the residents have the best status people are trying to get in; in neighborhoods where the residents have the worst status people are trying to get out. The result is that the poorest areas spread, and the best areas are always running away from the advance of that deterioration which is the herald of oncoming business or industry. Sometimes the effort to move out is successful. Americanized immigrants disperse among native Americans and are swallowed up in the great mass. The ghetto scatters in every available direction from the Lower East Side; the Bronx and Brooklyn become increasingly Jewish. The Negro, the Mexican, the Oriental are kept segregated wherever they go. Their march across the map is a conquest; always there are attempts to stop them where they are, and wall them off from farther advance.

Certain phases of city structure serve as frames within which the city sorts its people. The particular development of each city is conditioned by its physical topography, local transportation facilities, previous residential occupation, political control and economic control.

Physical topography is so much a part of the life of any particular urban area that it is a presupposition of all local thought and action. Ward lines, traffic streams, transportation routes, population changes and distribution—in a word, the entire shape and arrangement of city structure are af-

fected by topography, and they in turn affect the patterns of social status and trend. In general, high outlying land is occupied by the better residential suburbs; but this is not always true. Urban patterns, however, are determined not merely by natural topography. There are also artificial features such as industrial development which constitute barriers and fix the quality of urban areas no less definitely.

The development of outlying districts may halt for many years until *means of transit* are available. Social change may then be exceedingly abrupt. Rapidity of transit may bring distant districts into as close proximity with central business areas as less distant districts served by slower transit facilities. Places are now minutes apart rather than miles. The presence or absence of other utilities is only less determinative.

Previous residential occupation of territory determines the points of development in any given period. Physical topography might be overcome if the city limits were extended. The limit of transportation facilities is often fixed by the extent of the political area. Public utilities may be available on one side of a city line but not at all a hundred yards on the other side of the line.

One sort of *economic control* means well planned residential neighborhoods developed with intelligence and conscience, another sort means jerry-built houses with all the social consequences incident to such shoddy development.

THE SORTING IMPERFECT AND UNSTABLE

Within this general city framework all neighborhoods are subject to change. Nothing stands still in the city. Within a generation huge buildings, by no means outmoded, come down to make way for others yet more huge. Business marches triumphantly "up town." The older residential streets give way reluctantly, first to rooming-houses, then to business structures. The best residential areas are pushed farther and farther out. Finally, the time consumed in commuting becomes so great that the tide begins to turn

again. People free to do so move back to town, to live their adult lives in modern apartments; and the cycle is complete.

The improvement which deterioration heralds is sometimes long delayed. There are frequent backwaters along the main stream of social change. In these quiet spots life goes on pretty much as before. By and large, however, the city is constantly changing. The old resident, who has been away ten years, comes back to his home city at the end of the decade to find things very different. Old landmarks have gone; old places of business have moved; old schools may have closed for lack of children. "The city uproots the past. It throws discordant elements together without fitting them to one another in abiding fellowship. It does not leave them in peace to grow together, but forces its terrible successions upon them—its vast internal changes which transform the physical face of the city at least once in a generation." [1]

Sometimes the interpenetration of types of people creates a patchwork of social contrasts. Long lanes of sharply different people may divide the map into strips occupied by Negro, Irish and Jew. Sometimes whole sections are given over to people of one sort. Sometimes in the midst of poverty there may be a few stranded families of better fortune. In the midst of wealth there may be spots where indigence and decay begin to wear away the solid strength of established opulence. Always the pressure of the poorer on the better is strong. Everywhere there is a sort of Gresham's law by which deterioration reënforces obsolescence so that poor housing drives out good as poor money drives out good coin.

Apparently things are going to keep on changing in the American city. This study assumes that present urban trends are likely to continue for years to come, however radically the future may modify them, and that church progress in the American city will follow much the same lines in the immediate future as in the immediate past.

[1] H. Paul Douglass, in an address at Richmond, Va., March, 1932.

Even if "almost every reason for the growth of cities . . . has been profoundly modified," [2] it will hardly be disputed that the cities of America will continue to grow, even though it be at a reduced rate. "We can stem the tide of urbanism only by turning our backs on science and invention." [3] It must be assumed for purposes of this study that, as far ahead as anybody can now see, the population movements which have caused such kaleidoscopic dislocations in the American city will continue.

THE DISAPPEARING URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD

More than all this, and wholly apart from the tendency of one type of neighborhood to pass over into another and less fortunate type, the city neighborhood is increasingly difficult to maintain on any basis. [4] "Neighborhood" in the modern city is a term descriptive of an area of land rather than a social relationship. Prof. Ernest W. Burgess goes so far as to say that "the social forces of city life seem . . . to be destroying the city neighborhood." [5] Accordingly those who once were neighbors are now only "nigh-dwellers." The former maintained an intimate association, the latter only have adjacent residences. [6]

People get together nowadays without reference to nearness of residence. The modern city has become "a place

---

[2] Prof. Albert North Whitehead in an introduction "On Foresight" to Donham, *Business Adrift* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1931), p. xxiii.

[3] Lindeman, *The Church in the Changing Community* (New York: The Community Church), p. 27.

[4] "The Community is very difficult to find in the city." Prof. H. N. Shenton, in an address at the conference on "The Church in the Changing City," February 17, 1930, Detroit.

[5] Park and Burgess, *The City*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 154.

[6] McClenahan, *The Changing Neighborhood—From Neighbor to Nigh-Dweller* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1929), p. 3. Cf. Park and Burgess, *The City*, p. 9: "In the city environment the neighborhood tends to lose much of the significance which it possessed in simpler and more primitive forms of society. The easy means of communication and of transportation, which enable individuals to distribute their attention and to live at the same time in several different worlds, tend to destroy the permanency and intimacy of the neighborhood. On the other hand, the isolation of the immigrant and racial colonies of the so-called ghettoes and areas of population segregation tend to preserve and, where there is racial prejudice, to intensify the intimacies and solidarity of the local and neighborhood groups."

. . . where neighborhood feeling is almost wholly absent, because neighborhood traditions are hard to stabilize with such an incessant shifting of the population. Easy means of communication tempt the city dweller to find his friends and intimates in several neighborhoods. The city man's friends are not, for the most part, his neighbors. They are persons of his own profession, temperament or tastes who live all over the city, sometimes miles apart." [7] "Unquestionably it must be set down as the city's supreme social achievement that it makes for the free association of people and their grouping along lines of common interest. Groups having this origin are more vitally significant than the older ones based on mere proximity or occupancy of common territory." [8]

It is in the midst of the social contrasts afforded by widely differing neighborhoods, in the midst of the flux resulting from rapid social change, in the midst of the new associational interests, functional and not spatial, which supplement and tend to supersede the older neighborhood groupings, and in the midst of a situation made very different by the swift mobility of all city-dwellers, that the urban church must do its work.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND URBAN INSTITUTIONS

The church is not the only institution confronted by the facts of rapid urban change. All other institutions in the city are similarly affected, some of them perhaps more than the church. In adjusting its life to the changing life of the city the church is only bowing to the inevitable and trying to get it on its own side. Grocery stores and schools do exactly the same.

The same factors which affect the progress of churches

---

[7] William B. Munro, in Art. "City," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Vol. 3, p. 481.
[8] Douglass, *The City's Church* (New York: Friendship Press, 1929), p. 216. Cf. also Bogardus, in the Foreword to McClenahan, *op. cit.*, pp. v, vi.: "The rôle particularly of the automobile and of newer means of rapid communication has cut down spatial distance and tended to increase social nearness to such an extent that every person may live in wide-flung communalities of his own, in place of the old closely circumscribed neighborhood."

affect the fortunes of retail stores, but retail trade is often, perhaps usually, much more largely concentrated in the chief shopping centers. People shop at the center though they may go to church in the neighborhood. For example, in one large city of the United States, one-third of the retail trade[9] is transacted within the chief central shopping district. Most of the balance is confined to eighteen sub-centers. Retail trade distribution is, however, affected by the same factors, such as population, economic status,[10] topography and transiency, as affect the churches.

In retail trade so-called "convenience goods" are the ones most commonly purveyed by neighborhood stores. It is the need for a loaf of bread, an electric light bulb, or some other highly specialized but very common article which has so diversified the goods for sale at the corner drugstore. When a considerable purchase is to be made, as for example an expensive fur coat, a costly rug or a heavy article of furniture, the extensive stocks of the biggest downtown stores are examined. In different proportions but on the same principle the business of the church is conducted at its many locations.

The education of children is convenience goods. Hence the widely distributed elementary public schools and neighborhood Sunday schools. He who shops for brilliant preaching or faultless music may ignore the lesser privileges which the neighborhood is likely to afford. The great downtown pulpits and the high-priced music of the centrally located

[9] Cf. paper on "Retail Trade Areas within the City of Baltimore" by Inez K. Rolph at the 26th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December 28, 1931, Washington, D. C.

[10] A study of Greater Cleveland, published in 1930 by the Market Survey Bureau of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* reports that 73.2 per cent. of the retail purchase sales slips of eighty downtown merchants in varied lines of the business were allocated to residents in the areas where rents average forty dollars or more per month; 21.2 per cent. to those in areas where rents range from twenty-five to forty dollars; and only 5.6 per cent. to the less than twenty-five dollar rental areas. This newspaper study further claims that one hundred families in the first group of areas are worth as much to the advertiser as two hundred in the second and six hundred in the third. The sales-curve for each individual merchant is said to parallel the average sales-curve for all eighty merchants combined. Actual sales records for all makes of automobiles for the first six months of 1929, allocated on a similar basis, are said to have produced similar percentages—72 per cent., 21 per cent., and 7 per cent.

churches are the ecclesiastical equivalent of the vast stocks and the attractive windows of the high-priced shops or the great department stores.

Both high- and low-income areas repel business. Such stores as survive at all in underprivileged areas are likely to be small independent enterprises which make capital of a certain intimacy of relationship between proprietor and customers. In the most favorable residential areas trade of all sorts is rigidly excluded except at certain planned centers of traffic. The distribution of churches is very similar. Small intimate groups survive among the underprivileged just because their economic standard is low. This is the white Protestant equivalent of the Negro store-front church. At the other extreme in the great residential developments the denominations experience increasing difficulty in securing favorable sites and are frequently forced to accept, under terms of greatest strictness as to the cost and architectural quality of the buildings to be erected, sites allocated by a management which says, "If you would build a church, you must build it here, and under these conditions."

The best residential areas include what the residents in such areas want. If they want churches and stores, restaurants and theaters, these are provided, at the appointed place. They can be afforded. The poorest residential areas have what the residents want only if the city as a whole provides. In the absence of adequate private bathing facilities the city may supply public baths. It may or it may not keep the streets clean. Probably it does not provide adequate housing. Probably it does its level best to provide good schools.

Schools, which are operated by the entire municipality, offer much the same grade of instruction to the children of all neighborhoods, and essentially the same facilities. Can Protestantism achieve a city plan which will include but go beyond parish and denominational controls?

As it is, church life is not as well equalized as school life,

Like homes, like churches. Palatial homes, palatial or at least artistic churches; squalid homes, squalid churches.[11] To be sure, even public schools are better in high-class residential districts than in poor districts, but the difference is in spite of a policy of equalization. Among grocery stores the difference is far greater. Churches resemble grocery stores, in this particular, more than they do public schools. In spite of differences in homes and in stores the total civic community sets itself to provide substantially the same school facilities for rich and poor. Ought the church to do less?

THE CHURCH STILL CHIEFLY BUT DECREASINGLY A NEIGHBORHOOD ENTERPRISE

Historically the church has been a neighborhood enterprise, and for the most part it still is. Two city churches out of three still have at least half their members living within a mile of their place of worship. More than one church in five has 90 per cent. or more of its members living within a mile. By and large the church is a localized institution, although less so than it used to be. Like other institutions it feels the reorganizing if not the disintegrating tendencies of city life. The more complex the urban situation, the less does the effect of the immediate environment influence the city's institutions to the exclusion of other considerations.

There are neighborhood theaters and there is Broadway. There are grocery stores and drugstores in residential neighborhoods, but for furniture and clothes people shop chiefly at the urban center. So there are neighborhood churches

---

[11] Of course there is sometimes residential squalor under the very shadow of a great downtown church. *The St. Louis Church Survey* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, p. 65) found that "The poorest of a city's people tend to live within the shadow of the proudest of its enterprises." This is usually because disgraceful properties have not yet been demolished to make way for business. Such churches, like the great department stores, are often city-wide institutions which do not pretend to serve the straggling population close at hand. For the most part, the very poor patronize the cheaper stores and the cheaper churches. Deliberate appeal to the less privileged by special services in rich churches is the church equivalent of the "bargain basement."

which are one of the most important factors in maintaining the solidarity of neighborhood life; and there are city-wide churches allied not with the life of any particular neighborhood, but with interest groups throughout an entire urban region or a considerable section of it. The very meaning of the word "parish" is undergoing a change not always fully recognized by the leaders of the church, a change of special importance to all coöperative churchmanship, denominational or interdenominational. Historically parishes were geographical, but with the separation of church and state, the rise of denominationalism, and the increasing mobility of the city, enough churches have extended their parish radii to make it increasingly evident that "the life-principle of a church is non-spatial." [12]

Present urban mobility makes it more possible for the churches to sort people than ever before. Accordingly, centrally located churches pull their constituents along axes of population change, where the same type of population is thrust out irregularly, and from pockets of territory where the particular type of people may be colonized at some distance from the church. As they journey through one or more of the varying strata of the city's life to their daily work, so worshippers may ride in automobiles, by elevated or subway train, or surface car to a central place of worship. Parish maps in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Cleveland and elsewhere make this plain. Churches centrally located increasingly depend on other appeals than those of neighborhood. At the heart of the city more than half of its white Protestant churches draw less than half of their membership from within a mile. Here come people from the same neighborhood or from different neighborhoods to worship in a common spot perhaps far removed from the place of their residence.[13]   Unconsciously the

---

[12] Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926).

[13] Thus the church provides its version of the "mobility triangle" and a virtuous equivalent of the "promiscuity triangle" described in Park and Burgess, *The City,* pp. 152-3.

church has recognized that with the decline of neighboring, "church life must be reorganized on new principles."[14] Gradually the principle of contiguity as the sole basis of religious association gives way. Protestantism swings slowly from the old neighborhood parish to the interest group.

The mere capacity to draw constituents from a long distance does not save the centrally located church from the fate of all churches located in neighborhoods deteriorating from the standpoint of residence. People who move away from central neighborhoods may continue to attend central churches. Their children may also. Their grandchildren are not likely to do so. Experience shows that the church in deteriorating territory must develop some special appeal if it is to continue to draw people from afar.

The old geographical parish, in the *exclusive* sense, has practically vanished from American life. It is now enjoying an occasional resurgence through the voluntary mutual agreement of denominations to allocate territory to a specific communion. Such comity arrangements are as a rule necessarily partial. Unless the neighborhood consists of people religiously so homogeneous, or so lacking in resources, as to make the agreement of a few denominations binding on practically the entire population, competition cannot be entirely outlawed. Along with new interest groups still in process of alignment, persistent cultural groups are usually in conflict within the same territory. Yet the lines of historic cultural difference grow fainter and fainter. The community church movement in the village and in the homogeneous suburb can fashion the pattern of an inclusive religious institution; but in the more characteristically urban areas the community church necessarily reflects community of specialized interest.

If the neighborhood vanished entirely, the neighborhood church would doubtless also vanish. Probably it would be one of the last phases of neighborhood life to go. "Formal religious activities" undoubtedly "exhibit least change"

---

[14] Shenton, in the address previously quoted.

not only in Middletown[15] but characteristically in urban
America. For the present, however, most churches are still
neighborhood affairs. In the better residential districts five
out of six have half of their membership within a mile, three
out of five at least 70 per cent. within a mile, and more than
one in three 90 per cent.

The fact that the city church is usually localized, that
most city parishes are fairly compact does not mean that
most people attend church-in their own neighborhood. "The
relationship between churches and people is not as simple
as it first appears to be. The majority of people do not
attend the churches located near where they live; conse-
quently, it is more significant, in relating the churches to
the population, to consider where people go to church than
where they live." [16]   "More than half of all the churched
Protestants leave their home neighborhoods to attend
church." [17]   Most churches, however, attract the sort of
people that live in their neighborhood, wherever their resi-
dence happens to be. Churches on Fifth Avenue or Park
Avenue have for the most part Fifth Avenue and Park
Avenue sort of people in their membership. Many of these
people do not live on Fifth Avenue or on Park Avenue.
Similarly the church in a river ward may pull people from
all over a city, but they are likely to be the same sort of
people as those that live in the vicinity of the church. At
present a Protestant church is successful when immediately
surrounding it, or in an area from which it is easily accessi-
ble, there lives an increasing group of people who like that
kind of church.

For the most part the city church attracts people from
the groups into which the city has already sorted them,
whether neighborhood groups or interest groups. The
former grow less important, the latter more important. In
either case the city church is more or less selective. The

---

[15] Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929), p. 497.
[16] Hallenbeck, *Minneapolis Churches and Their Comity Problems* (New
York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), p. 28.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

city-wide church with a scattered congregation and a popular preacher must appeal, like the newspaper and the movie, to the average intelligence of its constituency. The level of this intelligence varies from church to church, but within each congregation a rough average is maintained. The social quality of each of these selective parishes is determined, not merely by its neighborhood, but by the social quality of an interest group which is scattered over whatever area finds the church accessible, an area sometimes very extensive. Nevertheless, while each church pulls people of its own kind, almost all churches are partly localized. Most churches are chiefly neighborhood affairs and very few are not to some extent neighborhood enterprises. The neighborhood church almost never includes all of the people in the neighborhood. Usually it shares the neighborhood with one or more additional congregations, in the neighborhood or outside it. "The idea of a neighborhood church with an exclusive field within which it serves all Protestants is little better than a myth." [18]

THE CHANGING CHURCH

Whether of the older neighborhood type, or of the newer interest group, some city churches are gaining, some are losing, just as some city neighborhoods are on the up-grade while others are on the down-grade. Is there any rule by which it is possible to know in advance what are the conditions of church progress in the midst of urban change? Which churches are likely to gain, which churches are likely to lose? Why? What makes churches gain or lose in the changing city? What changes in church life are most advantageous? What conditions must the church particularly avoid, if it is to make satisfactory progress in the midst of urban change?

Some of the effects of changed city conditions on the church lie on the very surface of the situation. For example, because of the relatively high turn-over in every urban

---

[18] Hallenbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

group, even where the people of a city parish continue as a type, the particular personnel of many an urban church, perhaps of most urban churches, comes and goes with startling rapidity. Because at best there is little permanency in the city, the urban church is a procession. Therefore strategic locations, within reach of transit facilities, are increasingly important. Less and less can the city church, of any sort, count on the stability and proximity of its constituency. In varying degrees all city churches, including those in the most fortunate suburbs, must face the fact of transiency.

The church cannot stand still in the changing city. Churches are caught in the great streams of urban change. Neighborhoods are improving, neighborhoods are deteriorating, according to the viewpoint of the observer. From the standpoint of wholesale trade a neighborhood may be on the up-grade, and at the same moment from the standpoint of retail trade going down. From the standpoint of white Protestant churches neighborhoods have very definite ups and downs. "With the incursion of business and the attendant shifts of population, churches have constantly to make adjustments which may involve change of program, combination with other churches, relocation, or even discontinuance." [19] Few churches are located in neighborhoods which are standing still. Relatively to stand still in the city is to slip back, for the characteristic attitude of city life is to be pushing forward, changing. Nowhere more than in the city is it true that

> Our stability is but balance, and wisdom lies
> in masterful administration of the unforeseen.[20]

The city dweller does not always analyze the nature and meaning of change. The city church does not always define the meaning of progress or isolate its factors. What is the

---

[19] Shriver, *The Presbyterian Church in Metropolitan Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Joint Committee, 1930), p. 16.
[20] Bridges, *The Testament of Beauty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 9, Book I, lines 6 and 7.

relation of church progress to urban change? How is the progress of particular churches affected by the social changes taking place in their neighborhoods? To the latter more particular question this study seeks to give careful answer.

THE PROBLEM OF THIS STUDY

Earlier Institute studies led to the impression that social changes taking place in the neighborhoods of urban churches very definitely affect their progress, and that church progress would be found to correspond to social trends in the immediate environment of the churches. Recognizing that such correspondence could occur only to the extent that parishes are localized, this present study was undertaken for the purpose of discovering whether systematic analysis of the facts would supply objective validation of this presumption. The basic question which this study investigated was: Are neighborhood trends determinative for the church?

THE METHOD OF THE INVESTIGATION

The formal process by which the study proceeded in its investigation of social change and of church progress is now briefly set forth.

STUDYING SOCIAL CHANGE IN A TYPICAL SAMPLING OF CITIES BY SECTORS

Social change taking place during the last decade in homogeneous districts within representative sectors of sixteen typical cities of more than 100,000 population was studied with reference to eight trends:

(1) Population gain or loss.
(2) Increase or decrease in population elements likely to affiliate with white Protestant churches.
(3) Change in characteristic economic status of residents.
(4) Change in desirability of residence.
(5) Increase or decrease in the unstable elements of population.

    (6) Increase or decrease in dependency.

    (7) Increase or decrease in juvenile delinquency.

    (8) Improvement or deterioration in health.

Districts within sectors were ranked on each of these factors of social change, and their combined ranking with reference to all of the eight trends computed. On this basis each sector was divided into four types of territory, each containing a fourth of the total number of districts. Territory undergoing most favorable change is called "best." Best and above-average territory are grouped together as "better" territory. Territory undergoing least favorable or most unfavorable change is called "worst." Worst and below-average territory are grouped together as "poorer" territory.

<div align="center">INQUIRING ABOUT THE CHURCH</div>

Into the varied and changing city situation the church as an institution has entered and struggles to build itself up. Out of an inchoate mass of city residents the church must get people to join it and constitute its membership. For the most part these people will be from the neighborhood in which the church is located. Sometimes they will come from farther afield. The church must get children into its Sunday school. Almost always these must be drawn from nearby. The church must spend money. This money must come from the neighborhood constituency, or from the more widely scattered church constituency or from individuals or organizations outside the local church.

Just as the student of city life wants to know what is going on in the life of the city and its neighborhoods, so the church leader wants to know the progress of the churches.

<div align="center">STUDYING CHURCH PROGRESS IN THE SAME SAMPLE
SECTORS</div>

Nearly 2,000 white Protestant churches located in the sixteen sectors were studied with reference to their gain or loss during the last decade in church-membership and

in Sunday-school enrollment, and with reference to their increase or decrease in total expenditures. These churches are distributed among forty-seven denominational bodies, of which the chief are Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist, Congregational and Disciples bodies. More than a fifth of the churches were located in New York City and its suburbs, more than 200 in Chicago, more than 100 in each of seven other cities, and thirty-five or more in the remaining urban centers. Churches were divided into five groups with reference to their relative progress in each sector on each of the three indices of progress.

In addition to the statistics of church progress compiled from official sources with reference to all the churches, pastors of half of the total number studied filled out a detailed schedule giving a large amount of information with reference to factors which had affected the progress of the churches during the decade.

GENERAL RESULTS

COMPARISON OF CHURCH PROGRESS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

When the progress of the churches was compared with the social changes taking place in their neighborhoods it was discovered that as a rule churches making the most progress are located in districts undergoing favorable social trends, while churches making least progress or losing ground are as a rule located in districts undergoing relatively unfavorable social change. Most of the churches in better territory were found to be making progress at maximum or above-average rates. Most of the churches in poorer territory were found to be making below-average progress or actually losing ground. Only one church in eight was found to be a definite and clear-cut exception to the rule of correspondence between church progress and environmental social change.

THE RULE ESTABLISHED

Examination of the data of church progress over against the background of social change resulted, therefore, in establishing the rule: *Like environment, like church.*[21]

Stated somewhat more exactly, the results of this study justify the conclusion that changes in the size or amount of membership, Sunday-school enrollment, and total annual expenditures of urban white Protestant churches in America correspond in general, in their direction and relative amount, with measurable changes in those factors of social change in the immediate environment of the churches pertinent to the fortunes of these churches. The statistics of urban white Protestant churches in America closely reflect the social trends in their environments. This is the rule: *In general, as goes the neighborhood, so goes the church.*[22]

---

[21] The general law of the correspondence between church progress and social change, it may be tentatively assumed, is one which will hold not only for urban white Protestantism but for all social institutions. Negro Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Jewish synagogs and other religious institutions may be expected to show a similar correspondence. Detailed differences among various types of religious institutions, whether due to differences of pertinent social trends or to the unique inner quality of the religious groups, discovered from studies like this study of white urban Protestantism, should greatly supplement the findings of this study. Data are available for the analysis of rural churches also from the standpoint of the correspondence between church progress and social change.

Not only should the main conclusions of this book prove applicable to other religious institutions, but they should be significant also for other social institutions. The degree to which the same considerations as those applied in this volume to white Protestantism are applicable to the support and management of schools, the cleaning of streets, the provision of public utilities, housing, and other functions of urban life, should be instructive in itself, and of great indirect value to the church. There is involved here the whole problem of neighborhood vs. city-wide control.

[22] Because the institutions of religion are inevitably affected by racial, national and other culture complexes, as well as by the culture patterns of their present environment, the law of correspondence between church progress and social change operates within limits set by certain conditions already fixed by historical ideas, sentiments and group activities. The contemporary economic, social and intellectual aspects of the life of the neighborhood are continuously influenced by these deep-seated traditions of various groups within the neighborhood.

If it be objected that the Protestant church is merely a function of outmoded cultures, fast breaking down under the standardizing pressure of modern urban life in America, the answer is that divergent cultures have far greater persistence than might be supposed. This persistence affects the church longer than it does almost any other institution, but in the end it does cease even to affect the church. The church which recognizes this fact benefits by such recognition; the church which ignores it does so at its peril.

This rule, while not equally true everywhere and always, holds good throughout all the urban area studied. It is substantially true, but in varying degree, in every sector, and in all denominations for which the sampling is adequate. Differences among the sectors and among the denominations are due to sociological differences from city to city, and differences of ecclesiastical practice and ideals from denomination to denomination.

EXPECTED EXCEPTIONS DISCOVERED

The data gathered in this study are significant, however, not only because they reveal the correspondence between church progress and social change, but also because of the churches which prove to be exceptions to this rule. Knowing that there is no such thing as inviolable social law, it was not expected that social trends would be found to have a uniform effect on the churches, but that they would operate generally and for the most part. Exceptions to the rule were expected and discovered. There are a considerable number of churches whose progress is in exactly the opposite direction to the social trends of their immediate environment.

The study of churches whose progress fails to correspond with the social trends of their environment is important to the church strategist for two reasons. First, such churches constitute just the sort of exceptions that prove the general rule, and make clear its meaning. Second, they illustrate the inner traits characteristic of church success and failure of the type not to be explained in terms of social trends, and may give clues to church leaders who seek to improve the status of particular churches.

When churches conform in the direction and amount of their own development to the social changes taking place in the neighborhoods in which they are located, the reasons

---

"If institutions are to serve life to the utmost, they must be changed as life changes, transformed as life takes new directions." MacIver, *Community*, (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 164.

for their development are clear. This study makes no effort
to analyze the success of those churches which are located
in such favorable environment as to make their success
almost automatic. Neither does it analyze the failure of
those churches which are located in such unfavorable envi-
ronment as to make their failure almost automatic. Such
churches are "modal" or average churches. Individually
they are ignored in this volume. Collectively their charac-
teristics are studied solely for the purpose of contrasting
average churches with exceptional, "variant" or "non-
modal" churches. It is upon these variant or non-modal
churches that this study finally centers its attention.

DEFINITION AND ISOLATION OF VARIANT CHURCHES

Variant or non-modal churches are of two sorts. "Sub-
modal" churches are those which in the midst of favorable
social trends are losing ground. "Super-modal" churches
are those which in the midst of unfavorable social trends
are making striking progress. This study discusses in detail
only those churches failing to progress that are located in
environments which would seem to assure progress. Simi-
larly, it discusses in detail only those successful churches
located in environments which would seem to preclude the
conspicuous success which some churches actually attain
even under the most forbidding circumstances.

By and large, sub-modal churches simply do not live up
to their opportunity. On the other hand, super-modal
churches are either (1) churches at work in an essentially
city-wide environment (or at least in a major section of
an urban area), uninfluenced by their immediate neighbor-
hood and not very seriously seeking to influence it, or
(2) churches with a sense of obligation to the underprivi-
leged in their immediate environment, and an ability (usu-
ally due to resources from outside the neighborhood) to
meet this obligation. Where a city-wide church does
attempt a neighborhood ministry usually it is distinctly
only a part of its program.

STUDYING EXCEPTIONAL CHURCHES

Quantitative measurements of social change afford a key to the meaning of church progress; and if certain churches are discovered to be unexpectedly swimming up stream, so to speak, such churches are clearly worthy of further study. There must be reasons for their ability to stem the current. Likewise, if churches are laggard in the midst of social advance, in the case of such churches there would seem to be specific factors demanding analysis.

Sub-modal churches (churches failing to make progress comparable with the favorable trends in their environment) and super-modal churches (churches making progress in spite of the unfavorable trends in their environment) were therefore compared with average city churches, with average churches similarly located in better and in poorer territory, and with each other.[23] This process isolated the elements of weakness in sub-modal churches and the elements of strength in super-modal churches. It is in the nature of these factors of variance that the significance of the exceptional church for church strategy is discovered.[24]

Because of the different social and ecclesiastical history of the sixteen sectors during the decade studied, the exceptions are more frequent in some cities and in some denominations than in others. Differences in the sectors chosen and in the distribution of denominational churches throughout urban America are also significant in this connection. Always and everywhere, however, exceptions occur. The

---

[23] The sub-modal church is not necessarily the most inferior church; there may be modal churches in poorer territory that are worse than any sub-modal church in better territory. Likewise super-modal churches are not the absolutely best churches; there may be modal churches in better territory that are better than super-modal churches in poorer territory. By the term super-modal is meant the church that made super-modal progress during the decade, viewed with reference to the average progress made by churches in its poorer type of territory; by the term sub-modal is meant the church that made sub-modal progress as compared with the average church in its better type of territory.

[24] This procedure deliberately focuses its attention on those exceptional churches which exhibit traits pulling them out of line with the trends of their environment. Psychological and ethical questions as to the meaning of religion for the changing city, as distinct from the progress of the church as a religious institution, must remain another story.

variant church is a phenomenon characteristic of every city and of all denominations. Sub-modality and super-modality are phases of the development of all urban Protestantism. The differences between sub-modality and super-modality furnish a clew to a more adequate strategy of city church planning.

ENVIRONMENT DETERMINATIVE, RESPONSE DIFFERS

That environment is determinative for the church has been affirmed by competent observers of the church and students of its history. The facts support their contention in convincing detail. So affirmative an answer is a bit of a shock even to the expectant mind. So far from seeming so obvious as to be irrelevant for practical churchmanship, the conclusion reached by this investigation connotes a social determinism at work for the conditioning of the life of the church which at first blast seems almost sinister in the apparent certitude of its consequences. It appears to leave small room for spiritual law in the ecclesiastical world. Is then the church merely a function of the behavior of its environment? Has the church no organizational free will? Must it succeed, must it fail, as it is decreed by the social changes operative in its immediate neighborhood? Do churches inevitably succeed in areas of most favorable social change? Is there no chance for a church to progress where human fortunes are low and on the ebb?

The answer to this altered question, this first too nervous reaction to the facts, is to be found in the very existence of those churches which this study terms "variant," and in their behavior. Variant churches actually demonstrate that environmental influence is not the last word. While even the most exceptional churches are affected by their environment, they respond to it differently from average churches. It is because they have understood their environment or have failed to understand it, and have behaved accordingly, that churches are what they are. Response to environment is even more crucial for the church than is the nature of the

environment or the trends taking place within it.[25] The law of correspondence between church progress and social change has no iron power over events. It merely describes what usually happens. Good environment does not make all churches good; poor environment does not make all churches poor. What churches do about it, how they behave in the midst of their environment, also counts. Some churches do not keep the pace even in the best neighborhoods; some churches are abundantly strong, even in the worst neighborhoods. Good environment produces strength only in churches capable of capitalizing it; poor environment is actually a stimulus to churches determined to retain their strength.

UNDERSTANDING URBAN CHANGE AND HOW TO MEET IT

"A chemist does not study the elements in order to bow down before them; ability to produce transformations is the outcome."[26] At its best the church has always been interested in transformation, individual and social. For the sake of the individual and of the local congregation Protestantism must understand the environment of the local church and its members. Environment is partly a neighborhood matter, partly a matter of the total urban situation. In the case of city-wide churches the total urban situation is more important than the immediate neighborhood. As the lines of all the churches criss-cross, no one church can understand its own situation adequately and serve it efficiently without knowing a good deal about the other churches. To play a significant part in the planned development of the American city, Protestantism must plan

[25] "Life is itself the shaper, not environment. Character is the expression and form of life, not of environment. Environment is the occasion, the stimulus, and not the source of character. If material forces have their own specific natures, are psychical forces mere resiliences? It is surely foolish to write as if every external and material force had its own proper and definite nature, while spirit alone existed featureless and blank, the name of an unknown impressionability, until these outer forces gave it character." MacIver, *Community*, pp. 381-2.
[26] Dewey, *Individualism, Old and New* (New York: Minton, Balch and Co., 1930), p. 157.

its own development. To do this it must understand social trends in the city and the progress of its churches. The church is vitally interested to know how far neighborhood loyalties are giving way to interest groups in any particular situation; and how far the future of equivocal neighborhoods can be forecast, as to whether they will improve or deteriorate. Urban sociology is supplying more and more data for an adequate forecast of the city's future; Protestantism must acquire more and more systematized knowledge of its total situation in urban America.

Can There Be a Protestant Strategy?

If theological cleavages, sharp differences of taste, social and economic levels, sectarian traditions and other actual varieties of human experience cannot somehow be transcended in terms of coöperative procedure, then the strategy of city church planning, so far as urban Protestantism is concerned, can never be more than a convenient label for a wide variety of competitive plans. The final question is: How can a divided Protestantism, at the end of four centuries of decentralization, accomplish in its own way that sort of social engineering which the public utilities find it easy to undertake and continue through their monopolistic control of particular functions, and which the Roman Catholic Church steadfastly performs on the basis of ecclesiastical authority?

A huge fraction of the people of the United States live in the larger cities. From so vast a multitude the church dare not run away. Occasionally a modern prophet grows weary of the city and longs for the quiet village or rural equivalent of Tarshish; but in addition to its duty to the rural United States Protestantism in America is clearly summoned to understand and serve Nineveh.

The following chapters contain much statistical detail essential to the establishing of final conclusions. Above all this mass of figures, rates, ranks, percentages and frequencies loom the expanding city and the churches struggling

within it. Huge urban areas move continuously outward until they have swallowed great tracts of countryside. "The transition from a predominantly agricultural economy to the specialized economy of an urban community"[27] has been very recent and very abrupt in many a city neighborhood. Whatever the neighborhood, the city is getting better or worse or standing prosaically still. A larger proportion of its people have become renters, and more and more of them are everlastingly on the move.

Some churches in the better neighborhoods can depend on the more primary group relationships. They can still be family churches. Some churches deal increasingly with individuals detached from their families by circumstances or choice. "In the country social life is made up out of the same people used over and over again. On the street, at place of business, in play, at church, it is just the same old faces in new combination. In the city there is a different set of faces for each relationship."[28] Each member of the family may belong to a different church relationship.[29]

If the two sorts of churches, in all denominations, are to coöperate for the adequate churching of the city they must understand it, they must understand themselves, and they must build a common program for the sake of the city and its churches. Whatever they now possess of "community-mindedness must somehow be translated into a code of community-responsibility."[30] A few of the basic requirements of such a program are foreshadowed in the conclusions toward which this volume moves.

Some very parochial churches, to be sure, have achieved super-modality; but for a city-wide Protestant strategy

---

[27] McClenahan, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[28] H. Paul Douglass, in the address previously cited.

[29] Cf. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 246: "If we take a broad enough survey of the development of community we see that more and more the power of selection, of direction, falls to the individual. Direction in such matters as religion, marriage, occupation, decided in the past according to general communal traditions, more and more comes to depend on individual choice." However, "the process of individualization, though it may break some established institutions, proves, over any wide period of history, to be a process of socialization as well" (p. 248).

[30] McClenahan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

parochialism is not enough, denominationalism is not enough. Parochial and denominational loyalties will have to be built constructively into a Protestant city plan, if there is to be any Protestant city plan. Only on foundations of broad knowledge and mutual good will, expressing itself in coöperative practices, can there be any genuine strategy of city church planning.

Chapter II

SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE URBAN CHURCH

The solution of the basic problem of this study, the relationship between urban church progress and social change, involves three steps: (1) The measurement of the social trends in typical urban areas; (2) The measurement of the progress of the churches located in the same areas; (3) The comparison of (1) and (2).

This chapter explains how social trends in the environment of the urban church were measured. After areas had been selected which afforded an adequate sampling of urban America, the relative fortunes of the people living in contrasting portions of this total area were studied, and particular districts in individual cities were ranked with reference to the social changes taking place within their boundaries.

URBAN AMERICA SAMPLED

To afford a sound basis for generalization with regard to American cities, the sample studied must be numerically sufficient and representative of the geographical distribution of the cities and of their varying types.

Of the nearly 123,000,000 people in the United States almost 69,000,000 are termed urban by the 1930 census. This study concerns only the cities of 100,000 population or more, omitting the South. The population of these larger cities exceeds 32,000,000, or more than one-fourth of the total population of the country. This is the whole to be sampled.

From the ninety-three cities of more than 100,000 population this study has selected as typical the sixteen listed

in Table I and located on Map 1. What is true of the sixteen is probably true of the ninety-three.

TABLE I—DISTRIBUTION OF ALL CITIES, AND OF CITIES INCLUDED IN PRESENT STUDY, BY SIZE GROUPS

| Population | 93 Cities | CITIES STUDIED | |
		Number	Name
1,000,000 or over	5	5	New York
			Chicago
			Philadelphia
			Detroit
			Los Angeles
500,000 to 1,000,000	8	3	Cleveland
			St. Louis
			Pittsburgh
250,000 to 500,000	24	5	Washington
			Minneapolis
			Cincinnati
			Indianapolis
			Rochester
100,000 to 250,000	56	3	Springfield, Mass.
			Albany, N. Y.
			Wichita, Kans.

The sample of cities chosen for study, while believed to be representative as to size, purposely emphasizes those of larger population in which the effects of urbanization upon the church are most evident. The sample is also geographically representative. The sixteen cities are distributed from Massachusetts to California, most of them in the area northeast of Kansas City, in which two-thirds of the cities of 100,000 and up are located. Some of the sixteen are dominated by heavy industries, some are primarily commercial or political; some are old, others relatively new.

Other considerations entering into the choice of these particular cities were that social data were known to be available in all of them, and that in some of them there exist exceptional facilities for the analysis of social trends. Further, local coöperation was assured in each instance, and in most of the cities contacts had already been established through previous Institute studies. All told, these sixteen cities constitute a satisfactory sample numerically, geographically and with respect to types of communities.

MAP 1—Location of sixteen cities studied

THE USE OF SECTORS

The sixteen cities were not all studied completely. In twelve of them data were drawn from representative sectors. Just as a sampling of the total number of cities, if representative, is adequate as a basis for generalized conclusions, so sampling by a sector is quite as adequate as study of an entire city, provided the sector is a real cross-section, covering the range of conditions and life that exist in its particular urban area. Representative sectors of a considerable number of cities provide a more adequate and more representative sampling of urban America than the total area of a smaller number of cities. Accordingly, except in the four smallest cities studied, such a sector of the total urban area was selected, extending in a widening wedge from the center of each city to its outer fringe. The use of sectors assured a resultant picture small enough and clear enough to be more readily presented and understood.

This method may be illustrated by the use of New York.[1] The city of New York and the adjacent counties in the states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut are commonly called the "region" of New York. It is this vast urban area which is involved in the famous "regional plan." The sector chosen for study lies between the Hudson River and Long Island Sound and includes Manhattan, the Bronx and Westchester County. Map 2 shows the New York region and the sector studied.[2]

The entire heart of the region is included, and a representative portion of the best residential suburbs as well as some of the most rapidly growing districts within the city limits. The long, narrow island of Manhattan, which is more and more giving way to business, is losing sharply in

---

[1] Cf. also Maps 3 and 4, showing the relation of the St. Louis and Minneapolis sectors to their total urban areas.

[2] It will readily be understood that the cost of studying the entire metropolitan region known as Greater New York would have been prohibitive. It was necessary sharply to reduce the area. Because the City Planning Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York was simultaneously conducting a survey of a portion of this region, this study found it advantageous to use the same survey area as its New York sector.

population throughout large portions of its area. As indicated on Map 9, it increases in population only at its extreme upper end along the neck of land lying between the
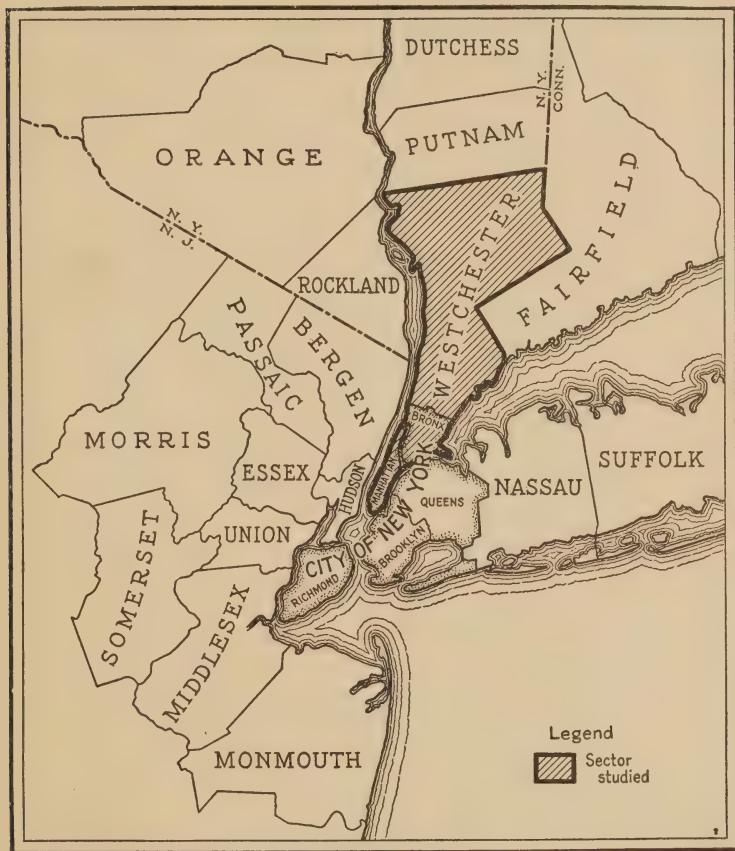
MAP 2—The sector studied in the Metropolitan region of New York

Hudson and Harlem rivers. Northward the sector spreads out fan-wise over the Bronx, with its rapidly increasing population, which in turn at the southern end of the borough is already giving way to the advance of business

and industry.   Next comes the suburban fringe, beyond
which lies the rural territory of northern Westchester, most
of which has been excluded from the New York Metro-
politan area of the 1930 Federal census.

Within the sector there are districts given over almost
exclusively to retail trade, others to multi-family dwellings
ranging all the way from the most abject slums to the most
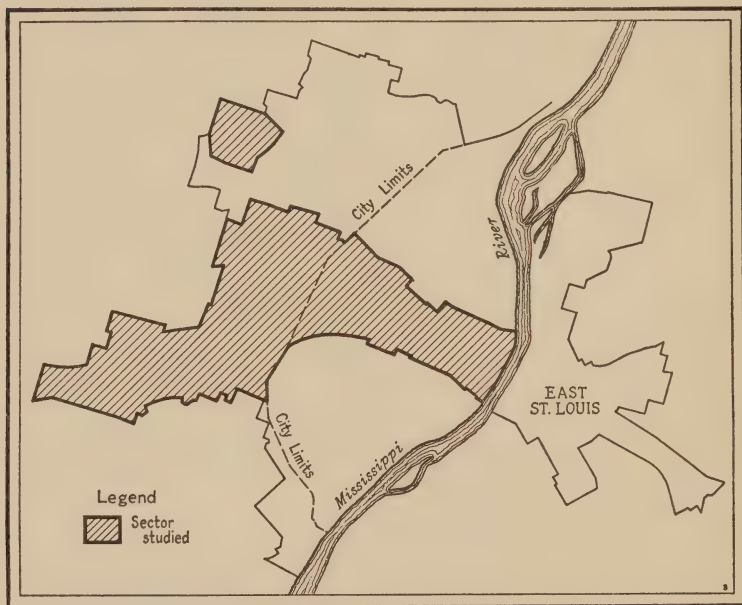
MAP 3—The sector studied in Greater St. Louis

palatial apartment hotels, still others to single family resi-
dences of the most modern sort in the most attractive sub-
urban surroundings. A feature of the sector is that nowhere
else in America are social contrasts more abrupt than here.
Within a single block on many streets in Manhattan one
may pass abruptly from one social level to another quite
different; within a third of a mile one almost enters another
world, so far as relative social status is concerned.

New York represents the extreme of urbanization. The consequences of this for the church are apparent, especially when compounded by the problem of race and religion so characteristic of Manhattan and the Bronx, and present in Westchester County to a greater degree than is sometimes realized. On the other hand, the sector also includes certain
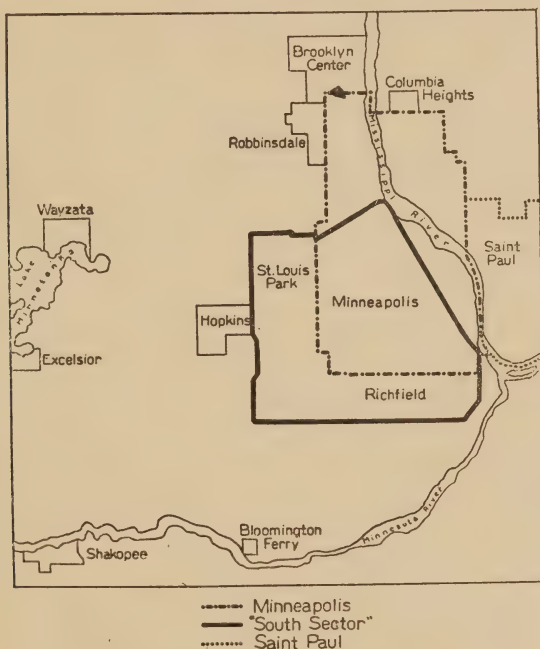
MAP 4—The sector studied in Minneapolis

districts, beyond the real suburbs, no longer genuinely rural and not yet characteristically suburban. Peekskill, at the extreme northwest corner, is an example of a considerable community not yet within the commuting zone. No other sector studied represents quite such extremes as does this one.

In eleven other cities similar sectors were studied.[3] In

---

[3] See Appendix A, Note 1, for the definition of each sector.

general these sectors were chosen to include the most Protestant sections of the cities studied, and the areas of most rapid increase in population. Sometimes purely local conditions, such as the availability of data, made it necessary to sacrifice one of these interests for the sake of the other, or even to choose a sector only second best from both standpoints. In Rochester, and in the cities of less than 250,000 population, the entire city was studied.

In every instance the sector chosen for study was selected because it included a cross-section of the various sorts of people resident in the particular city. The total population of the sectors studied is nearly 11,000,000, or approximately one-third of the population of the cities of 100,000 or more in the sections of the country covered by this study. The national sample is broadly representative, therefore, of people living in urban America.

Analyzing the Environment of Urban Churches

For the purpose of studying the immediate environment of the churches each of these sixteen sectors was subdivided into homogeneous districts.

Within every large urban area marked diversities of human fortune are found in the smaller portions of the area. The city sorts its population, like with like. The various sections of every city exhibit quite different traits. For example, in Chicago, "Back of the Yards" (stockyards) is one thing, Hyde Park, in which the university is located, quite another; in New York, Harlem and Greenwich Village would never be confused. Similar contrasts exist in every city. Each has its railroad yards, its wholesale districts, its retail and theatre centers, its residential areas, its parks, its nuisance industries. A whole group of functions have to be performed in every city; in all, therefore, there are comparable areas determined by similar functions. If a city has a water front it must have wharves; all cities must have one or more railroad stations, some sort of a city building or buildings, a financial center, a cultural center

or centers, and various grades of residence territory. However different each city may be from all others, certain corresponding portions of all cities are more alike than contrasting portions within a single city.

In large part the contrasting districts within a city constitute "natural" groups. They are recognized by popular opinion as of long standing, and have been used as the basis of many previous classifications. Topography, history, functional and social distinctions often clearly demarcate such natural divisions.

Even where natural districts have not been recognized in such common usage, it is always possible to find objective contrasts as the basis of districting an urban area. Where there are no sharply recognized boundaries, investigation quickly discovers that certain contrasts do exist between contiguous districts, even though the quality of one may shade off imperceptibly into the quality of the next.[4]

Where it was necessary to mark out a district not already recognized, the new district lines usually utilized boundaries of existing units. In Rochester and in Albany ward lines were followed because they were reasonably practical districts and had acquired through relative permanence such a real sociological value that the data of social change were available in ward terms. In Philadelphia also wards were used as units, or divided or grouped as observable contrasts suggested. It was frequently desirable to reduce the size of areas used locally, or to build up larger districts out of the smaller units commonly used for local purposes.[5]

The process of laying out urban districts can best be explained by example. In a number of cities a variety of United States Census data are now being reported according to unit areas usually called Census Tracts. These are combinations of the still smaller enumeration districts. In

---

[4] For a discussion of the meaning of districts, see W. Wallace Weaver, *West Philadelphia: A Study of Natural Social Areas* (Philadelphia, 1930).

[5] On the size and number of districts see Appendix A, Note 2.

many cities various social agencies, public and private, are now regularly gathering and analyzing their data in terms of these census tracts. It is only necessary in such a situation to decide the general limits of the sector, that is, the number of tracts which it is desirable to include, and to group the tracts which the data show to be similar into such units as meet the requirements of the study. Beyond the city limits it is usually sufficient to treat as districts suburban political units for which census data are available.

Map 5 illustrates how the twelve Cleveland districts were built up out of census tracts. Considerable information was available by these small tracts. For example, the rates of juvenile delinquency and of dependency for each tract could be quickly computed. Groups of contiguous tracts showed comparable rates, and field observation revealed other broad contrasts in the fortunes of the people. With the help of competent local counsel it was soon possible to draw district boundaries which were in the main exceptionally satisfactory. The unavoidably heterogeneous quality of one Cleveland district served to illustrate the abrupt transitions and the miscellaneous character of some sections of the American city, and to explain the divergent fortunes of the churches located within it. The other eleven districts were distinctly homogeneous.

Districts arrived at after this fashion were found ready to hand in Chicago and elsewhere.[6] Map 6 shows the Chicago sector divided into the "local community" units selected by the University of Chicago as the basis of local community research.

By the use of homogeneous districts one can see in what parts of a city the social characteristics and fortunes of the

---

[6] Cf. *Social Backgrounds of Chicago's Local Communities,* prepared by Vivien M. Palmer for the Local Community Research Committee, (The University of Chicago), page 3: "During a century of progress [Chicago] has developed into a complex metropolis, a mosaic of incorporated residential villages, industrial suburbs, immigrant colonies, business and commercial zones, and hotel and apartment-house areas. . . . Very few statements can be made concerning the city as a whole which have real significance for any one of these areas."
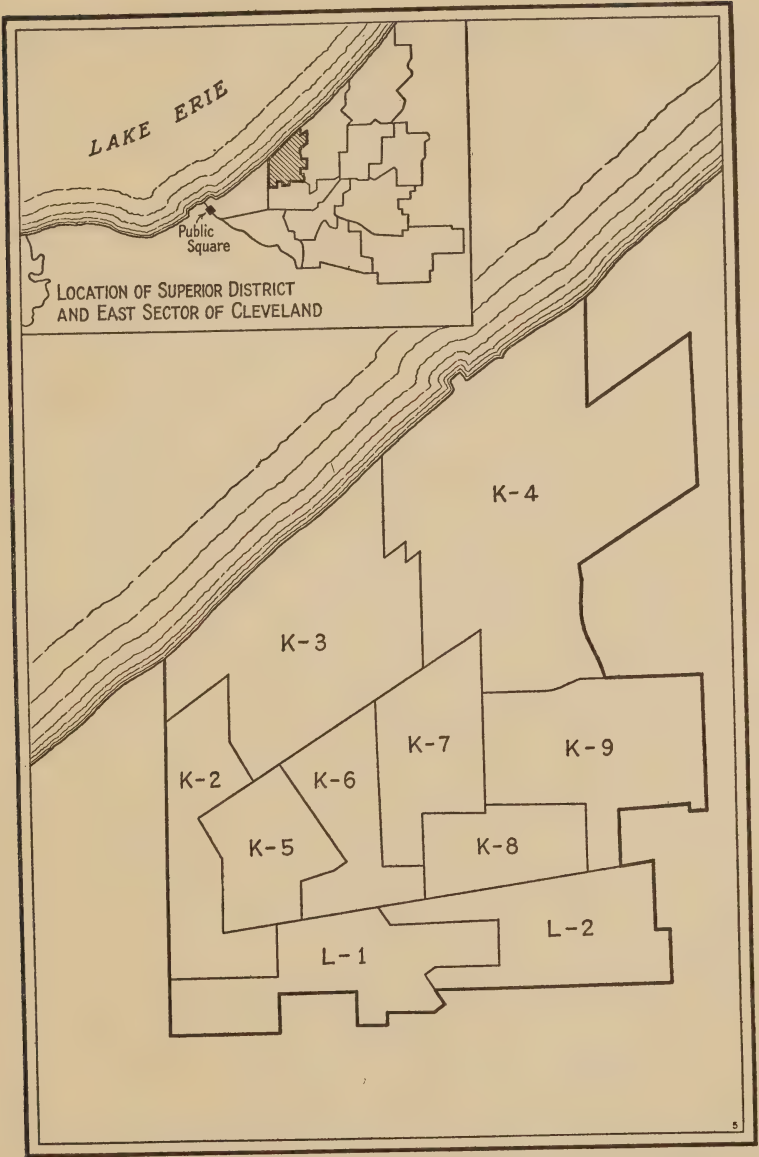
MAP 5—Superior district, Cleveland, showing method of combining
census tracts

people are alike, and in what parts they are unlike; and can divide the entire area studied into relatively homogeneous districts not too numerous to be comprehended by the mind or talked about in general terms. This important step in any social survey was taken in each of the sixteen cities.

Eight Factors of Social Change

Having districted the sixteen sectors the study next proceeded to measure the social differences among districts in each city. This was done by constructing a battery of criteria according to which the contrasting social fortunes of the people living in the various districts could be accurately compared.

In selecting the criteria by which social change was to be measured two chief considerations were determinative. First, what measurable facts were most significant for the analysis of human fortunes in general, and most significant for the institution under specific discussion? Second, what data were available? On what factors of social change could quantitative information be obtained, by means of which the districts within the sectors could be compared?

On the basis of the Institute's ten years of study of the city church, careful experimentation at the outset of this study, and refinement of process as the field work proceeded in the sixteen cities, the eight factors of social change given below were chosen for measurement.[7] All of them are pertinent to the fortunes of the church, and measurable in terms of comparable data. Taken together they afford a substantially accurate basis for measuring social trends in the environment of the churches.

    (1) Population growth or loss.

    (2) Increase or decrease in elements likely to affiliate with a white Protestant church. (These population elements will be termed "affiliable" population.)

---

[7] On the choice of the eight factors of social change and their use in this study see Appendix A, Note 3.
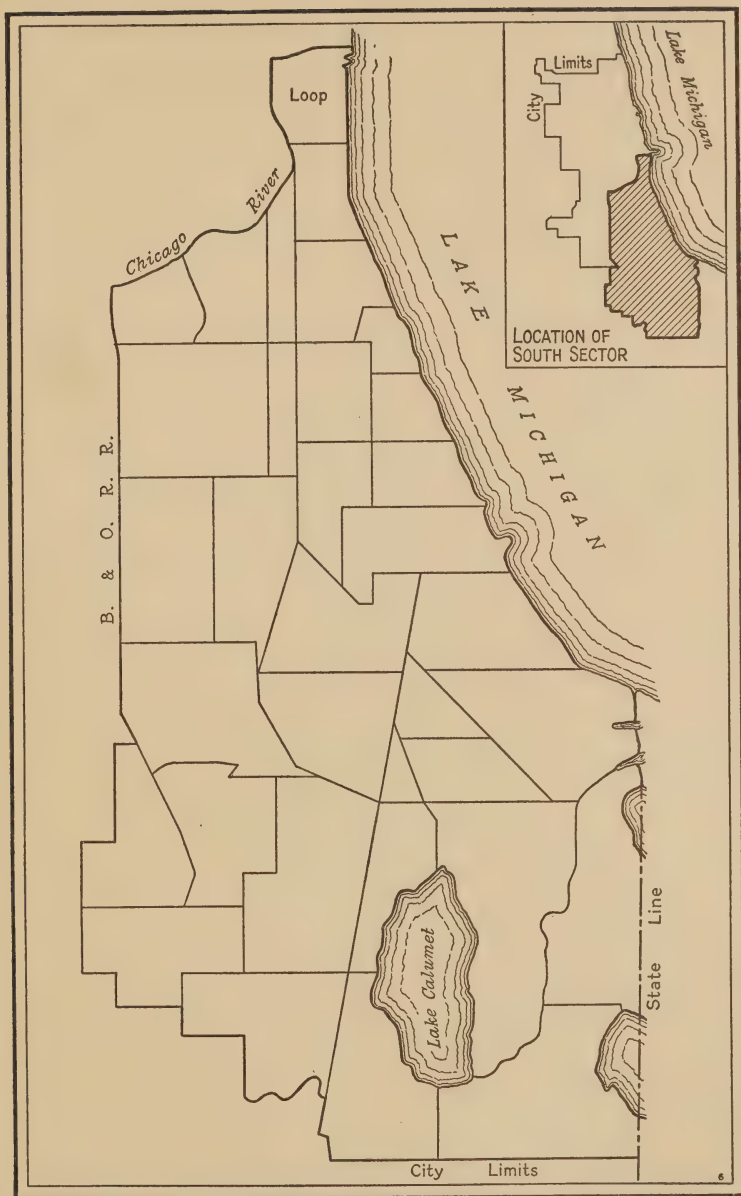
Map 6—South sector, Chicago

41

(3) Change in characteristic economic status of residents.
(4) Change in desirability of residence.
(5) Increase or decrease in the unstable elements of population.
(6) Increase or decrease in dependency.
(7) Increase or decrease in juvenile delinquency.
(8) Improvement or deterioration in health.

LEGEND

Increase, 54% to 83%

Increase, 1% to 39%

Decrease, 1% to 43%
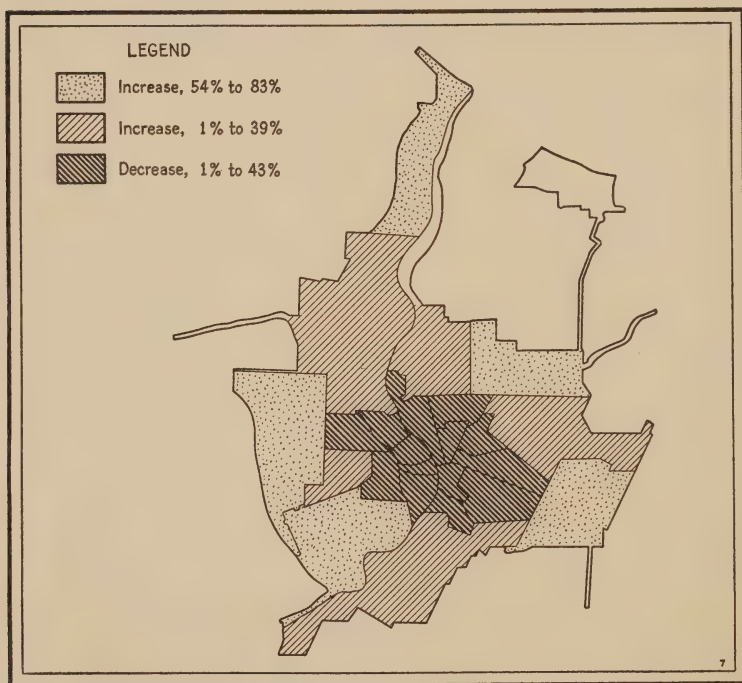
Map 7—Population change, Rochester, 1920-1930—Areas of greatest population increase are outside the city limits

Each district in each sector was studied with reference to these eight factors for the decade 1920 to 1930, or the nearest available equivalent. The results are now discussed factor by factor.

(1) POPULATION GROWTH OR LOSS

When districts were ranked according to gain or loss in population, a wide difference was found between the extremes. One district was found showing a population loss of 53 per cent. during the decade. At the other extreme another district gained 697 per cent. Since total rates of growth for the decade varied greatly from city to city—as
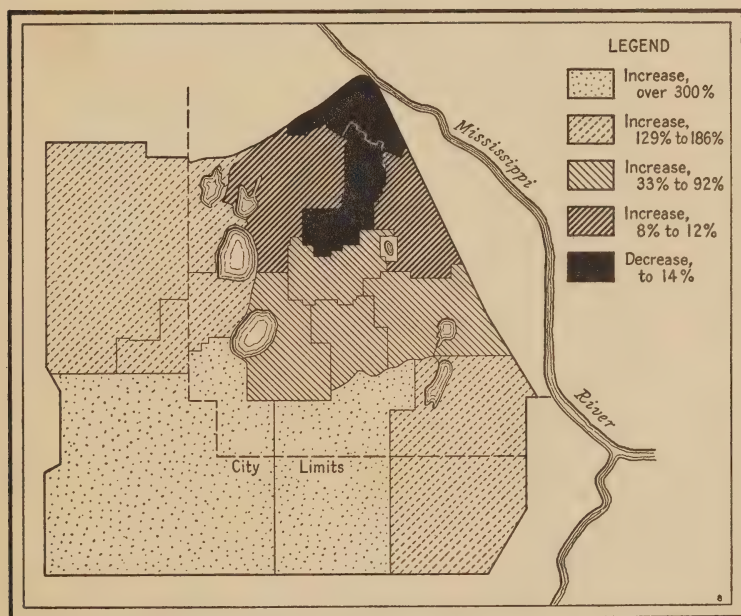
MAP 8—Population change, Minneapolis sector, 1920-1930

for example between the slow-growing Philadelphia sector and the rapidly growing Los Angeles sector—direct comparison of districts according to equal rates was not significant. Moreover this study is primarily interested not in absolute but in relative rates of population change. In each sector some districts showed relatively most rapid growth, some average growth and some were definitely losing. The

Park

Park

Park

LEGEND

///// Gain, over 200%

///// Gain, 100% to 200%

///// Gain, 20% to 100%

\\\\\ Gain, less than 20%

■ Loss
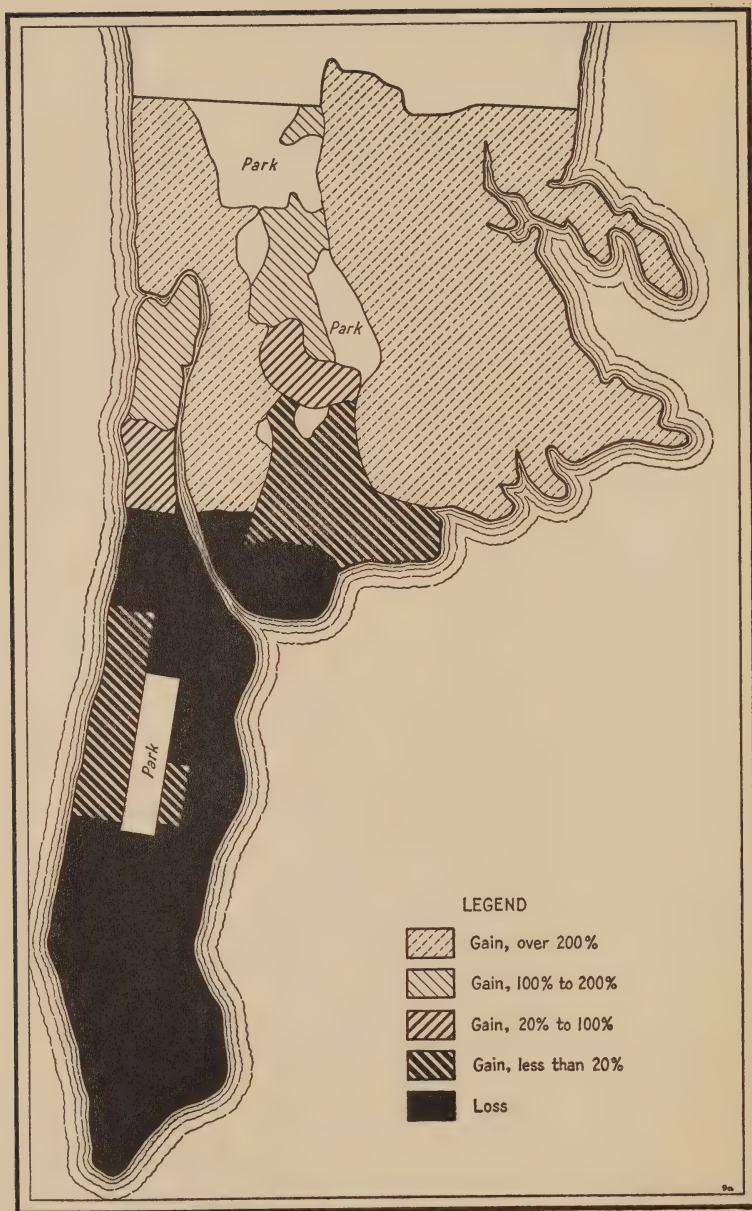
MAP 9a—Population change, New York sector, 1920-1930 (see Appendix D)

44
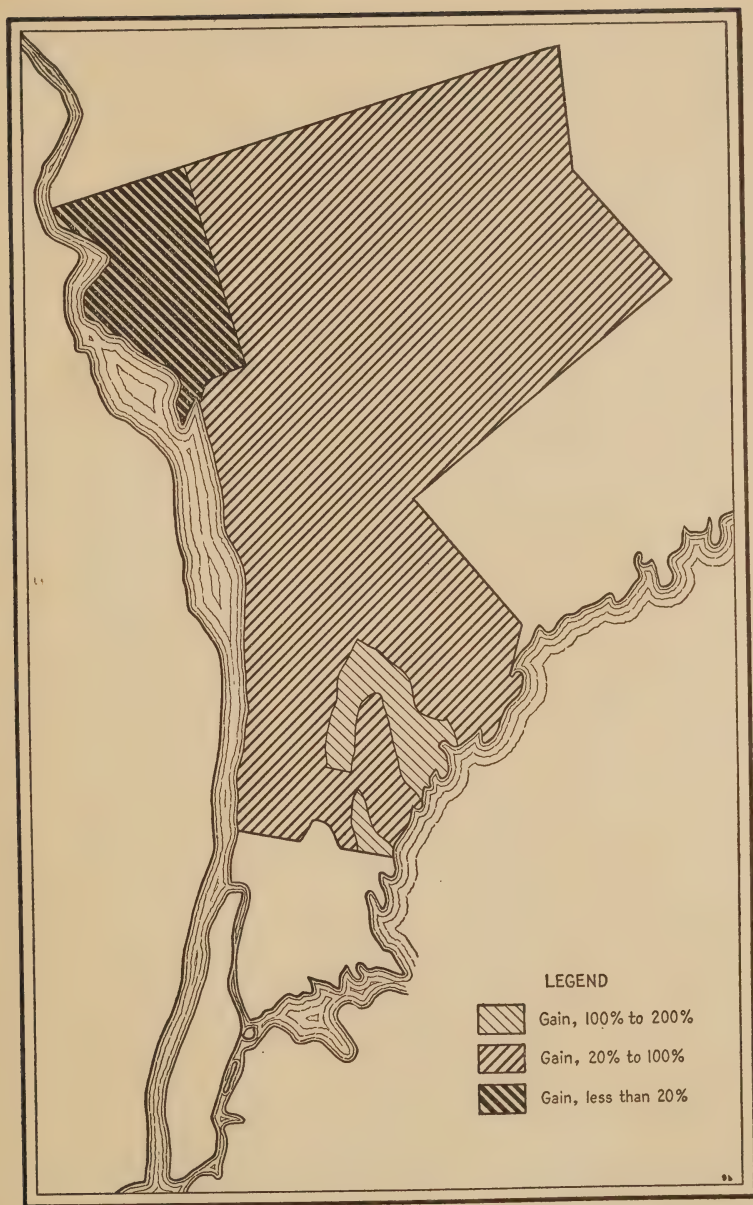
MAP 9b—Population change, New York sector, 1920-1930

first group showed relatively the best position, while the last occupied relatively the worst position. Between the two extremes population change during the decade was comparatively slight.

Generalizing and explaining the results of the investigation of population gain or loss, it was found first that all cities show central areas which are declining in population. This is illustrated by Map 7 of population change in Rochester during the last decade, and by Map 8 of the Minneapolis sector. No city is so irregular as to lack this feature. The central area of population loss is that expanding zone required by the commercial and industrial development of the city. Except for those who live in hotels or apartments, or in dilapidated buildings not yet replaced by modern structures, the inhabitants have literally been driven out by business. The size of the central area of population loss varies in direct proportion to the size and age of the city. The Indianapolis sector has only one district showing population decrease; while of twenty-four districts on Manhattan Island nineteen show a population loss for the decade.[8]

If the political city includes all the people intimately connected with the city's life, then the area of population loss may be very small as compared with the total extent of the territory within the city limits. If a large portion of the people who are closely identified with the life of the city live outside its political boundaries, then a disproportionately large section of the city proper may show an actual loss in population. For the church as well as for business there is a "trade area" which is quite as significant as that which is confined within the city's political boundaries.

---

[8] Cf. Anderson and Lindeman, *Urban Sociology* (New York: Knopf, 1928), p. 75: "As the city grows larger the likelihood of its being inhabited at the center, except by the hotel population already referred to, decreases. Other population tends to be the very poor, wedged in wherever the space is not used for non-residence purposes. The law of urban congestion seems to be that first of all, plant and animal life is excluded. With increased congestion, children are eliminated, then women, and finally men. Men remain longest because they can be packed in larger numbers with a minimum of comfort."

Areas of greatest population increase are generally at some distance from the heart of the city, but not always at its outer edge. Districts of moderate increase frequently lie farther out from the heart of the city than districts of greatest increase. Suburban districts may be increasing at a more moderate rate than districts closer in. The place of
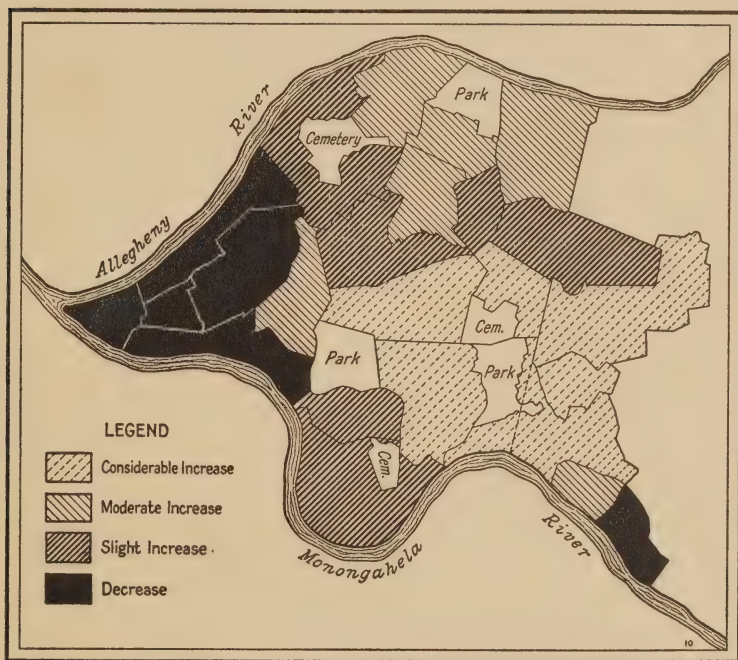
MAP 10—Population change, Pittsburgh sector, 1920-1930 (see Appendix D)

maximum growth in the poorer population, which is the most numerous, is set by the limits of cheap transportation. Suburbanites must have income to pay the heavier transportation cost, and a relatively short working day to permit the time necessary for commuting. This class of people is relatively smaller.

Few city people work near their homes. A considerable

proportion of the population finds employment in the central portion of the city. At the close of the day the people at work at the heart of any great city move outward into ever-widening circles of residential areas.[9]

The underlying principle of population expansion may be generalized as to its basic or normal pattern as follows: The fewest people are living in the central areas, and their number is decreasing. Often at the end of the longest radius of rapid suburban transportation the population is increasing most rapidly, but at the end of the cheaper transit the rate of growth will frequently exceed that of the suburbs. One might suppose that within the area of metropolitan residence the rate of population increase would be directly proportional to the distance from the heart of the city. A normal pattern of population change would thus be as shown in Chart I.

In general this is the picture of the way the city actually does grow. This is the regular or radial pattern. The chief distortions of the normal pattern are due to unusual topography, the particular industrial organization of the local urban structure, tradition, social heritage, the limits of cheap transit or other distinctive factors. Normal trends of population change are illustrated in the Rochester and Minneapolis maps. In general these follow the the diagram of concentric circles. The one most usual departure from this pattern is the reversal of the position of the areas of moderate and greatest increase.[10]

---

[9] Cf. for example, Park and Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 50 ff: "The typical processes of the expansion of the city can best be illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric circles, which may be numbered to designate both the successive zones of urban extension and the types of areas differentiated in the process of expansion.

   I—Loop
   II—Zone of Transition (including Factory Zone)
   III—Zone of Workingmen's Homes
   IV—Residential Zone
   V—Commuters' Zone.

It hardly needs to be added that neither Chicago nor any other city fits perfectly into this ideal scheme. Complications are introduced by the lake front, the Chicago River, railroad lines, historical factors in the location of industry, the relative degree of the resistance of communities to invasion, etc."

[10] For discussion of variations from the basic pattern see Appendix D.

The significance of population gain or loss for the church is basic. Churches are made up of people. Where there are no people of the type served by the church within reach of its building, the church cannot survive. Where the number of people resident in a neighborhood is increasing by leaps and bounds, the number or size of the churches in the neighborhood is likely to increase. Often both will increase. On the other hand, it is generally true that where people move out, and none move in, so that population is actually losing, the church must move out too, or else attract people from afar on a different basis of ministry. In the middle areas, where population is static and the trend equivocal, the church is most put to it to know how to plan its ministry.
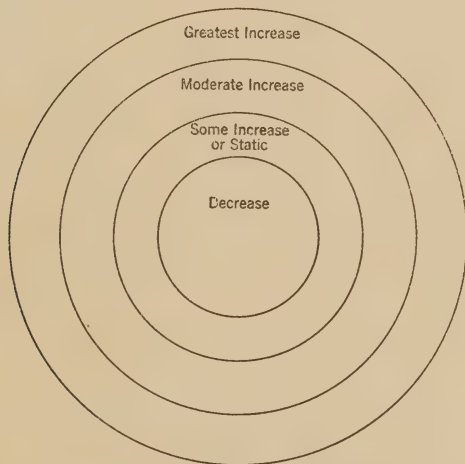
CHART I—Regular (radial) pattern of
population expansion

(2) INCREASE OR DECREASE IN AFFILIABLE POPULATION

Next to the quantity of people the factor of greatest influence upon church progress is the kind of people in the locality. In the study of white Protestant churches in any part of a city it is important to remember that it is often

increase or decrease in non-white and traditionally non-Protestant groups in the population that is significant rather than total population change. White Protestant churches actually draw almost exclusively on white Protestant population. Gross population increase may consist so largely of non-Protestant or Negro elements as to involve little or no increase in population affiliable from the stand-
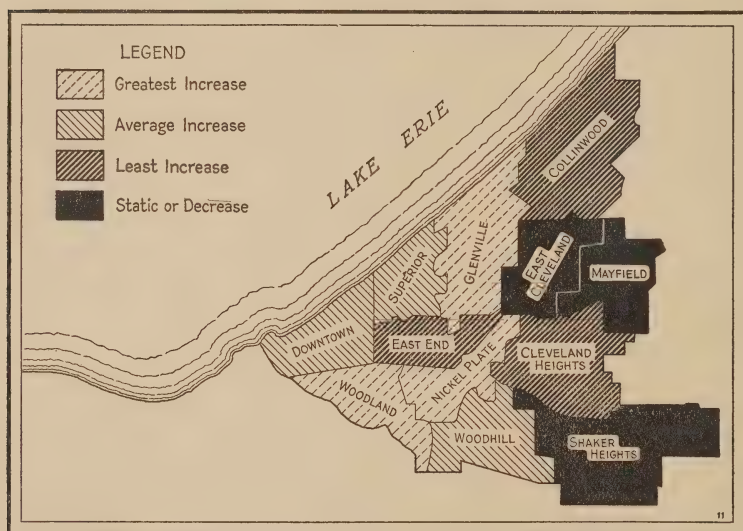
MAP 11—Change in non-affiliable population elements, Cleveland sector, 1920-1930

point of white Protestantism. To cite an extreme example, while in the Bronx in New York City the ratio of Jewish children to total public-school enrollment actually decreased during the period 1923 to 1929 in four districts nearest to downtown Manhattan, in the other districts it increased from 18 to nearly 500 per cent., thus offsetting from the Protestant standpoint the immense population gains of that borough.

When the decade began, the heart of many cities was occupied by a high percentage of non-Protestants and non-

whites. As they were pushed out of the central areas, these elements tended to spread to the next zone. Consequently it is in this zone that the most marked change is shown rather than in the areas where the proportion of these elements long has been large. On this count, therefore, the area of most adverse change from the standpoint of white Protestantism was not the central zone but one immediately surrounding or adjacent to it. Thus usually the area of worst tendency and that of below-average tendency were reversed as compared with their position with regard to population change. Map 11 of the Cleveland sector shows this typical reversal. For the most part the change most favorable to white Protestantism was found on the suburban fringe of the sector.

Dominant racial and religious groupings are especially determinative for many phases of life, particularly the progress of institutional religion as represented by the churches. Districts vary in the proportion of their population affiliable by white Protestant churches. What is more, change in type of population is of still greater significance than the distribution of population elements in any one year. It is the threat of invasion by alien elements which disturbs neighborhoods rather than the actual number of people of a different type now resident. A small percentage of Negroes or Jews may be not unwelcome. When the proportion of non-Protestant elements doubles or trebles, even though it is still small, the neighborhood may begin to disintegrate. Patterns of trend presented by the sixteen sectors are in some instances quite different from patterns of racial and religious distribution of population at any given moment during the decade. In some cases the white Protestant proportion of the population may be actually increasing, although still a minority.

As will be later explained in more detail, considerable testimony in the form of replies to detailed schedules which analyze the factors of social progress affecting the churches was gathered from the pastors of more than half of the

churches studied. In these replies the pastors gave repeated evidence that their organizations had often been crowded out by an inundation of population elements not readily affiliable, perhaps even entirely non-affiliable. Many who had not yet fled before this flood were eager to do so. Only the exceptional church found itself able so radically to change its type of work as to appeal to people utterly different from its traditional constituency, or to attract a distant constituency to such a location.[11] Field observation confirmed the testimony of the ministers. For example, one Protestant Episcopal church is located just where it was ten years ago—a ravine to the west, business to the northeast, and huge apartment houses to the southeast. These apartment houses, which recently replaced smaller dwellings, are occupied by Jews. The population is larger, but less Protestant.

(3) CHANGE IN CHARACTERISTIC ECONOMIC STATUS

The various districts of any city are distinguished by the obvious difference in the wealth of their people. This is most directly reflected by the type and cost of homes, or their rental value, which is an index of the purchasing power of the residents. Those who can pay more rent, or its equivalent in ownership costs, can also as a rule spend more money for other things.

This factor is of primary importance to business. As a basis for plans to develop and extend their business certain public utilities, newspapers and more aggressive merchandising establishments make thorough studies of their cities to define the relative purchasing power of different local

[11] While the quota law has shut off much foreign immigration, there is a new type of rural immigrant in the city who presents a psychology only less alien than that of the foreigner. Rural immigration, especially as of the Ozark type in St. Louis, or of other mountaineer stock in Cincinnati, adds a complication beyond that of ordinary inflow. The movement to the city, characteristic of the decade studied, involved problems incident to abrupt dislocation and the effort on the part of residents of the most backward rural areas to adjust themselves to the complexities and excessive stimulation of the city. This has had very important consequences for the city church. What the "store-front" church has been to Negroes, some city churches which have

areas. These studies have made available basic data on this factor for the analysis of most of the sectors. Upon these data, with the assistance of those who made the
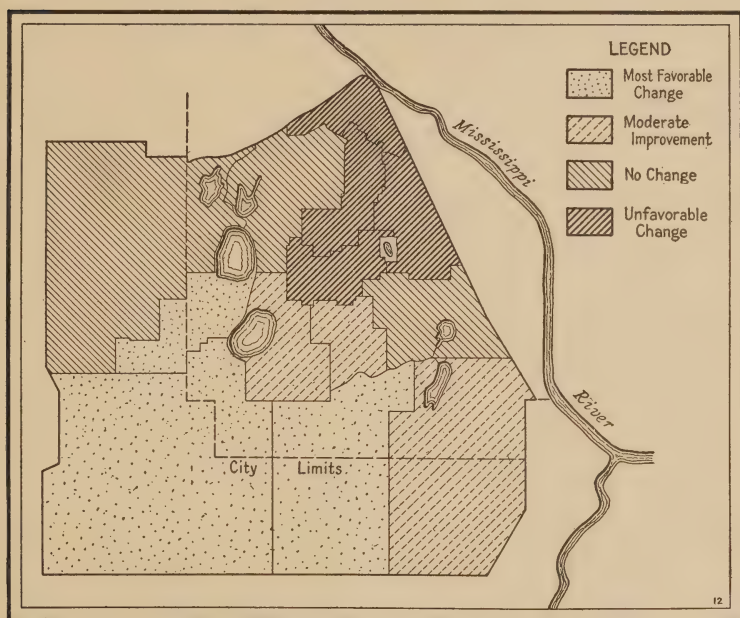
MAP 12—Change in economic status, Minneapolis sector, 1920-1930

studies, relative change in economic status was mapped. This is illustrated for Minneapolis by Map 12.

The economic status of people is of very real importance to churches. Those who can spend more money can pay

---

retained distinctly rural characteristics have meant to people new to city ways. In church they have sought to retain as much as possible of their former habits of thought. Such congregations are less assimilable into the life of progressive churchmanship than their members are into the material culture of the city. They are extreme instances of the persistence of the rural quality of the urban church. Cf. Douglass, *The St. Louis Church Survey,* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1924), p. 34, "So far as the native population is concerned the Survey shows that the rural immigrant is the most tragic figure in St. Louis, and that, on the whole, the Church is serving him very poorly." Now that details of the 1930 Census are available local studies will want to include age- and sex-distribution of the population also.

more for their churches. It is important also that the church should know the change taking place in the characteristic economic status of the districts within the city, and the relative direction and degree of this change.

Frequently, the data show, the central districts are the poorest and are getting poorer. Suburban areas tend to be the best except for industrial centers and ill-controlled districts. With its greater transit costs, the necessity of shorter hours and a relatively high standard of living and least economical type of housing, the better residential suburb is a place where only the relatively well-to-do can afford to live.

It was often found that a district was not able to keep the economic pace set in earlier years, while another that gave less promise actually made better progress. The bearing of economic status and trend on the fortunes of the church, especially the church dependent on its immediate environment for support, is clear. Size of program, cost of equipment, salaries available, and general cultural tone are all dependent on economic resources.[12]

The patterns shown in the mapping of the economic factor correspond in the main to the kind of pattern produced by the figures of population change.

(4) CHANGE IN DESIRABILITY OF RESIDENCE

No contrast is more marked than that between the quiet and cleanliness of the better residential suburb, with its large single-family homes of beautiful architecture, frequently surrounded by spacious gardening, and the noise and dirt of the slum, with its people packed into pockets between the establishments of business and industry. The older and more congested sections of a city generally house a population that is numerically declining. They present a combination of adverse environmental conditions under which human fortunes are most difficult and the whole

---

[12] For the specific consequences of this in terms of budgets and the size of churches, see Hallenbeck, *Minneapolis Churches and Their Comity Problems* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), p. 63.

round of human ills most prevalent. At the other extreme are the new and roomy suburbs, with their increasing population of a highly select character, and external conditions of great advantage to social welfare.

LEGEND

Best Territory

Above Average

Below Average

Worst Territory

City Limits

Ohio River

Miami River

Little
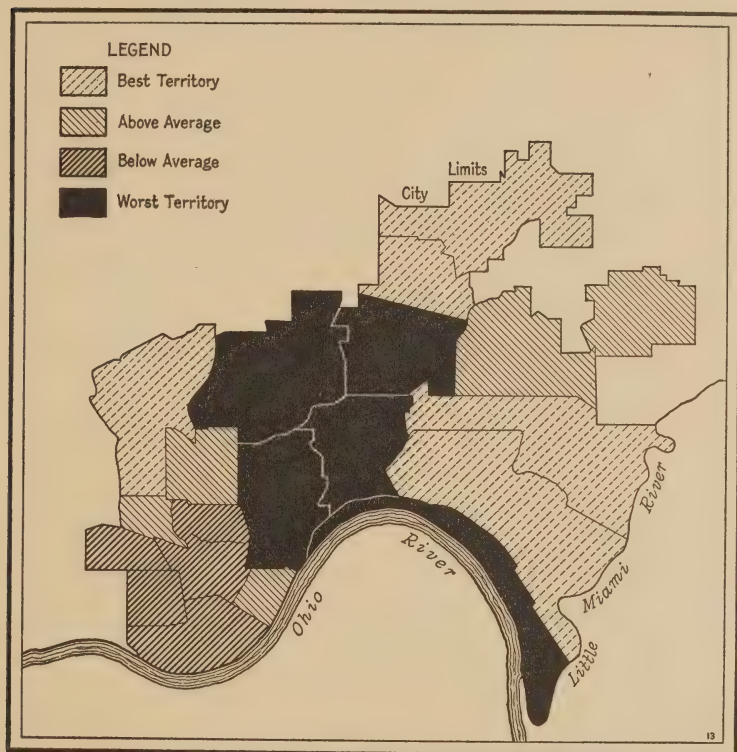
MAP 13—Change in desirability of residence, Cincinnati sector, 1920-1930

Between these extremes it is possible to lay out a reasonably definite scale of desirability of residence. Desirability decreases from the districts which are occupied predominantly by single-family residences through those increasingly taken up with duplexes, then apartments and flats, to tenements. On the other hand, desirability increases from the districts largely taken up with heavy indus-

try through those occupied considerably by light industry, commercial distribution and retail business, to those free for residence purposes.

This scale is basically that used in the zoning laws in connection with modern city planning. Comparisons of use maps of an earlier date with those of the present, and of the zoning of a city, form a basis for a ranking of the districts as regards change in desirability of residence. Map 13 shows such a ranking in the case of the Cincinnati sector.

The map of change of desirability of residence usually follows a fairly regular radial pattern, with the crest of the wave-like effect of social change breaking beyond the heart of the city as it does in case of increase or decrease in affiliable population.

(5) INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE UNSTABLE ELEMENTS
OF POPULATION

As districts vary in desirability of residence, so they vary in the mobility of their population. In some neighborhoods people maintain a long residence; in others nobody stays put more than a very brief period.

Map 14 shows the change in stability of residence in the Cleveland sector during the decade, as indicated by increase of rooming-houses.[13] The areas of most unfavorable change according to this factor follow the lines of acute transition in the city. This characteristic feature is shown by the inclusion of the East End in the area of most unfavorable change. Instability of residence is an inevitable concomitant of industrialization. Accordingly this map shows one striking modification of the radial pattern, due to the presence of the industrial suburb of Collinwood.

The difficulties of the city church in ministering to a procession can be well understood. When to the mobility of a

---

[13] During the field work in Cleveland, John W. Love wrote in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* in January, 1930, "Cleveland is a great amorphous city where neighborhood feeling has been all but destroyed by wholesale migration. A neighborhood has become a place where a family lives until it can find a buyer for the property." Probably such a statement would be just as true of many other American cities.

constituency is added the sort of instability of residence which means that the very nature of their residence develops people without sense of neighborhood partnership or domestic rootage, the task of the church is at once made immensely more difficult and the immediate resources available for sound and permanent organization are sharply reduced.[14]
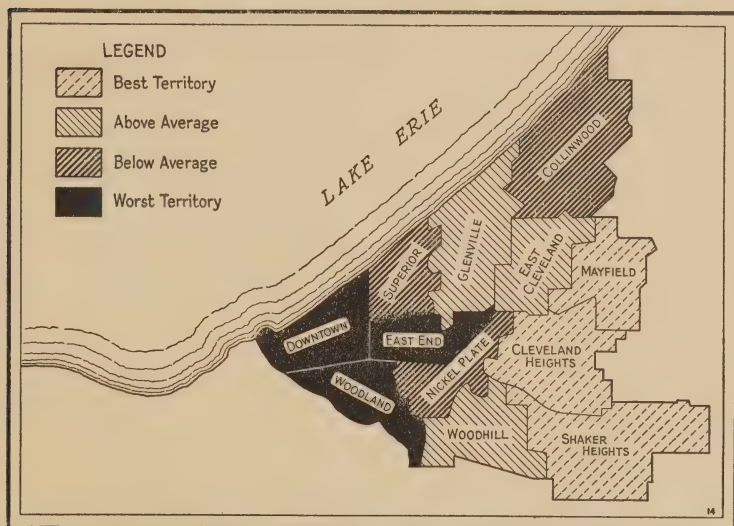
MAP 14—Change in stability of residence, Cleveland sector, 1920-1930

THREE FACTORS OF DIRECT SOCIAL WELFARE

The remaining factors of social change, dependency, juvenile delinquency and health, are a direct indication of social-welfare trends.

(6) DEPENDENCY

The relative dependency of the districts of a city is indicated by the proportions of people receiving assistance

[14] The distribution of hotels and rooming-houses and their relative increase over a term of years constitute the best observable index of instability of residence. Changes in telephone addresses, house-to-house samplings in various portions of a city, the records of representative transfer companies, and other

from the community through its relief agencies. Map 15 is
based on a spotting of all the dependency cases reported by

LEGEND

3 to 12
18 to 30
32 to 42
48 to 53
77

15
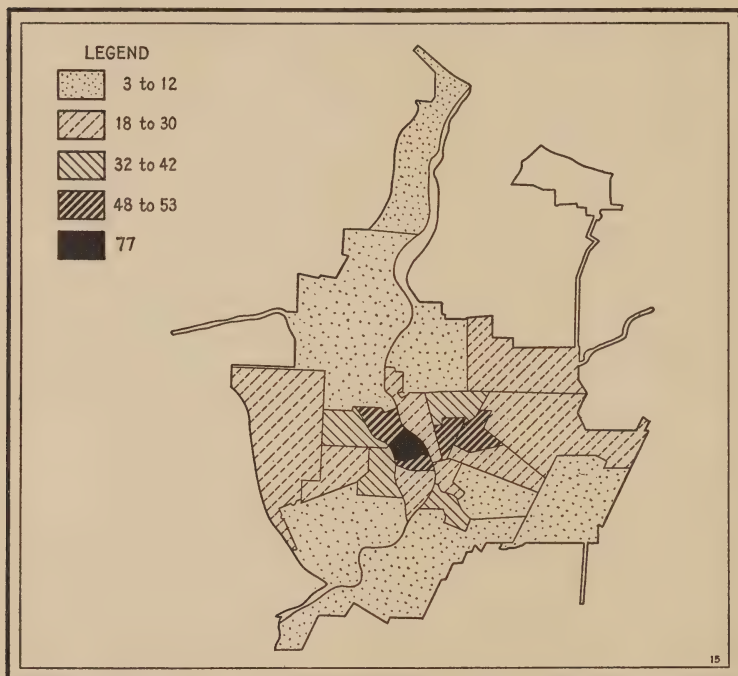
MAP 15—Dependency in Rochester, 1931. Number of families per 1,000
population receiving aid in each ward

eight relief and family welfare agencies, public and private,
in Rochester, especially prepared for this study by the

devices furnish more or less satisfactory evidence of mobility. Public utility
meter records and the experience of social workers of long standing add pos-
sible sources of data. The street index cards of a social service exchange show
a record of transiency at one end of the scale, while the statistics of residen-
tial hotels document the facts at the other extreme of economic opportunity.
Post-office and municipal officials, circulation managers, zoning engineers and
other well-informed persons, whose judgments are based on broad knowledge
of facts with which they have been brought into intimate and continuous con-
tact, are helpful in visualizing this factor. Frequently relative status and
trend as regards instability of residence are as easy to rank as they are diffi-
cult to document with statistical detail. An index often used is that of school
mobility, as indicated by the proportion of transfers in total enrollment.
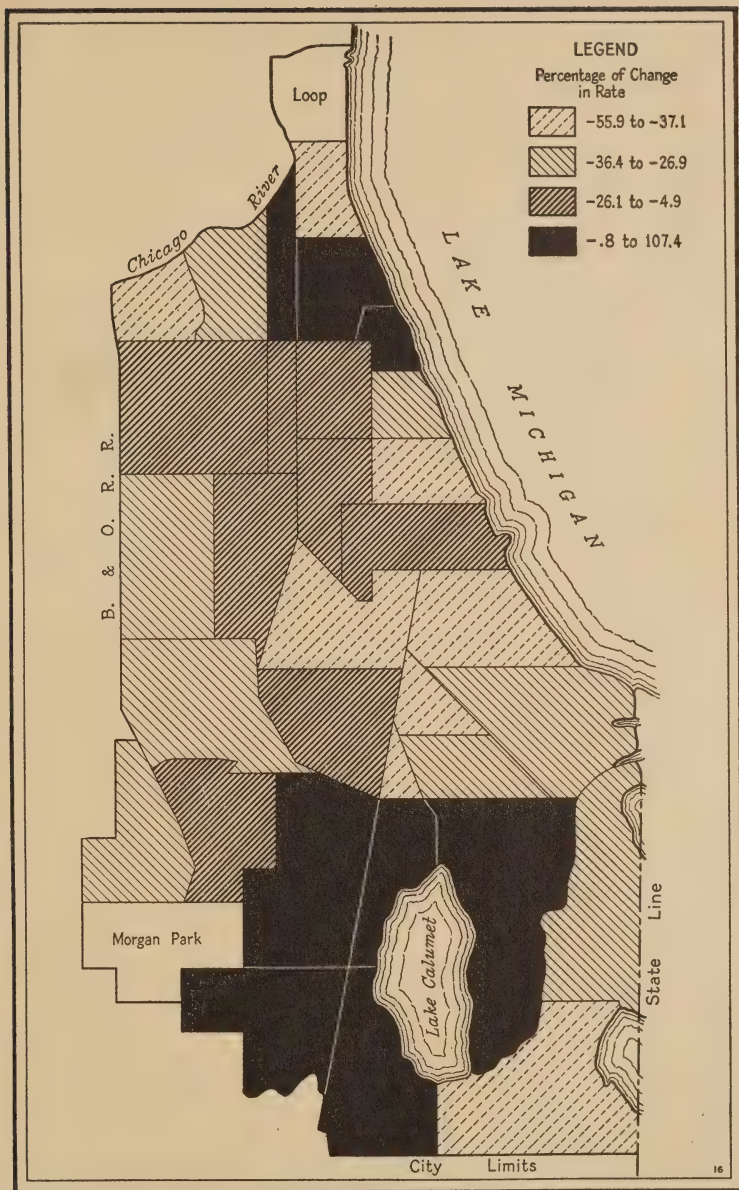
MAP 16—Change in juvenile delinquency rates, Chicago sector, 1900-1923

59

Rochester Council of Social Agencies, as of February 28, 1931. Additional computations indicated the distribution of cases by agencies. No finer visualization of urban dependency has been accessible to the makers of this study. In this instance the rates per thousand divided naturally into five groups.

Dependency is significant for the church in that it denotes the need for a particular type of ministry to a certain kind of people. Areas of dependency provide fields of service, but at the same time require the procuring of extensive support for an intensive program.[15]

(7) JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The distribution of juvenile delinquency at any particular moment tends to vary considerably from its distribution at any other moment. In general its increase works outward with advancing areas of deterioration.[16]

Map 16, the best documented map of increase or decrease in juvenile delinquency available, is based on two series of figures published in Shaw's *Delinquency Areas in Chicago,* but not there compared by Shaw.

The significance of juvenile delinquency for the church is again connected with the church's program. If juvenile delinquency is on the increase, it constitutes a direct challenge to the church to devise and conduct, or at least to support, such a program as will stabilize and control juvenile population. What from the standpoint of the measurement of social change is a matter of statistics becomes from the standpoint of the church a problem of preventive education or the salvage of personality.

---

[15] Data available with regard to dependency are usually limited to a very brief period. Only in the most recent years have the best organized cities begun to study the localization of dependency in any exact fashion. Comparable figures as the basis of trends for districts identical at the beginning and the end of a definite period are almost wholly non-existent. It is usually possible, however, to document the present distribution of poverty with considerable exactitude. See Appendix A, Note 3.

[16] Shaw, *Delinquency Areas in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 204–206. Also Shaw and McKay, *Report on the Causes of Crime,* National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931), Vol. II.

(8) HEALTH

Infant mortality is generally the best index of health as a factor in social welfare. Trends on this factor follow a somewhat different pattern from those on other factors. Where infant welfare has always been good, there is little

LEGEND

Marked Decrease in Rate (19% or more)

Static (−9% to +12%)

Considerable Increase (49% to 196%)

Very Great Increase (over 300%)

City   Limits

Limits

City

River

Detroit

17
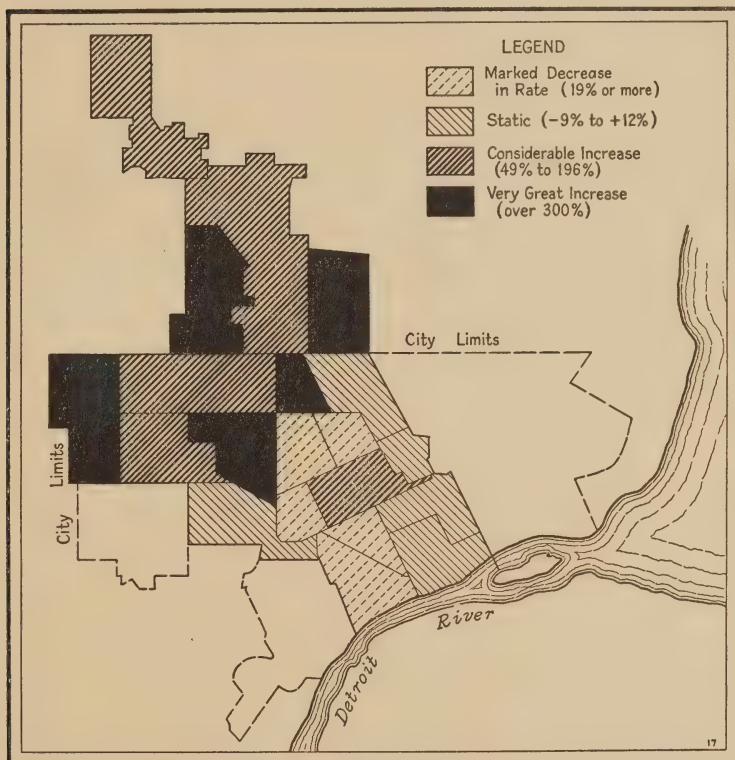
MAP 17—Change in infant mortality rates, Detroit sector, 1919-1929

opportunity to improve it, and statistically any difference in rates is necessarily small. Because of the attention that is being given infant welfare by present-day social agencies there is very infrequently found any district where the rate of infant mortality is actually increasing. Where infant

welfare has been worst and still is bad improvement has usually been greatest.

Map 17 shows the comparison of infant mortality in Detroit in 1919 and 1929. In this case improvement has been greatest at the heart of the city, while the better residential districts show less favorable change.

COMBINING THE EIGHT TRENDS AND MAPPING THE RESULT

The eight factors which constituted the battery for the measurement of social change have now been reviewed. The importance of each individual factor resides in its specific definition of a particular phase of the problem of the church. For a general characterization of the whole process of social change there must be a composite picture of all of these factors.

The simple process of adding together the rankings of each district within a sector upon all the factors results in a new, combined ranking on the basis of total social change,

TABLE II—RANK OF EACH DISTRICT IN THE MINNEAPOLIS SECTOR ON EIGHT FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE DURING THE DECADE 1920-1930

| DISTRICT | RANK ON EACH OF EIGHT FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE | | | | | | | | | Combined |
| | Factors | | | | | | | | Total | Rank |
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Best Territory										
VII	5	3	3	6	2	2	1	8	30	1
VIII	1	1	1	6	1	12	4	5	31	2
XIII	3	5	6	6	5	9	5	1	40	3
Above Average										
VI	4	7	9	6	9	1	13	2.5	51.5	4
XII	2	2	2	6	3	13	12	13	53	5
IX	7	9	4	6	4	11	7.5	10	58.5	6
XI	6	6	8	10	7	4	7.5	11	59.5	7
Below Average										
X	8	4	5	6	6	8	11	12	60	8
IV	11	11	11	2	11	6	6	4	62	9
II	10	10	7	12	10	5	2	7	63	10
Worst Territory										
III	12	12	12	13	12	3	3	2.5	69.5	11
I	13	8	10	1	13	10	9	6	70	12
V	9	13	13	11	8	7	10	9	80	13

The placing of District 13 in above-average rather than below-average territory was decided in accordance with the progress of its churches. Factors are numbered as in the text (see p. 40).

and provides the data for a composite picture of the relative social change taking place among the districts of any sector.[17]   This is illustrated in Table II, which shows the ranking of the districts of the Minneapolis sector on each of the eight factors of social change, and combined rankings on all of the factors.

Here, then, is a sequence of districts which at the top indicates the district (rank one) exhibiting relatively the most favorable or best total social change during the last decade, while at the bottom (in this case rank thirteen) is the district which, in relation to the other districts in the sector, has had the most unfavorable or worst social change.

This process was carried through for all sixteen sectors. To give areas large enough to include significant numbers of churches, the districts were divided, in each sector, as nearly equally as possible, into four groups, defining four types of area as follows:

Area of the best social tendency—best territory } Better
Area of above-average social tendency   } Territory
Area of below-average social tendency   } Poorer
Area of worst social tendency—worst territory } Territory

Map 18 shows this grouping in the Minneapolis sector, on the basis of Table II.   This provides an adequate base on which to carry through the statistical analysis of the churches.

There are thus in each sector four kinds of territory according to this four-fold classification, indicating the relative social tendencies within the sector.   The kinds of area thus defined for each of the sectors were then considered together, the sixteen best, the sixteen above average, the sixteen below average, and the sixteen worst groups of districts.   To be sure, the worst territory in one city might be no worse than good territory in another; below-average territory in one city might be better than above-average territory in another.   This made no difference, however, for

---

[17] The factors are considered of equal weight.   See Appendix A, Note 3 re the choice of factors, weighting, etc.

the purposes of this study. Each group of districts, each
type of territory, has a well-defined relationship within its
own sector. It is the correspondence of the relative social
quality of each type of territory in one sector with the
relative social quality of the same type of territory in all
other sectors which is the basis of the subsequent discus-
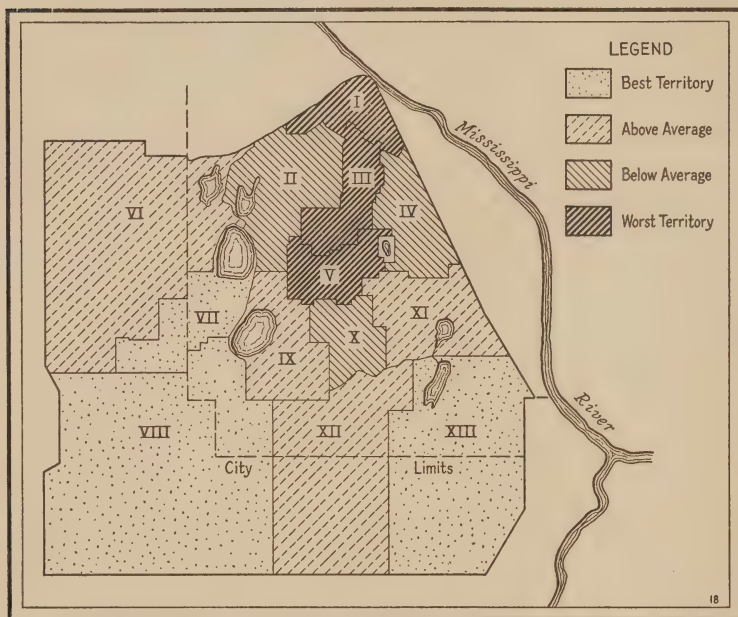
Map 18—Combined rankings, eight factors of social change,
Minneapolis sector, 1920-1930

sion. Always there are better and poorer areas, and their
relative position with reference to the sector as a whole
remains much the same.

Comparison of maps of social change with maps for each
of the eight factors would make it evident that disasters
come not singly but descend in flocks upon the most de-
pressed territory. Territory that is worst in one respect is
usually worst in a number of respects. Territory that is
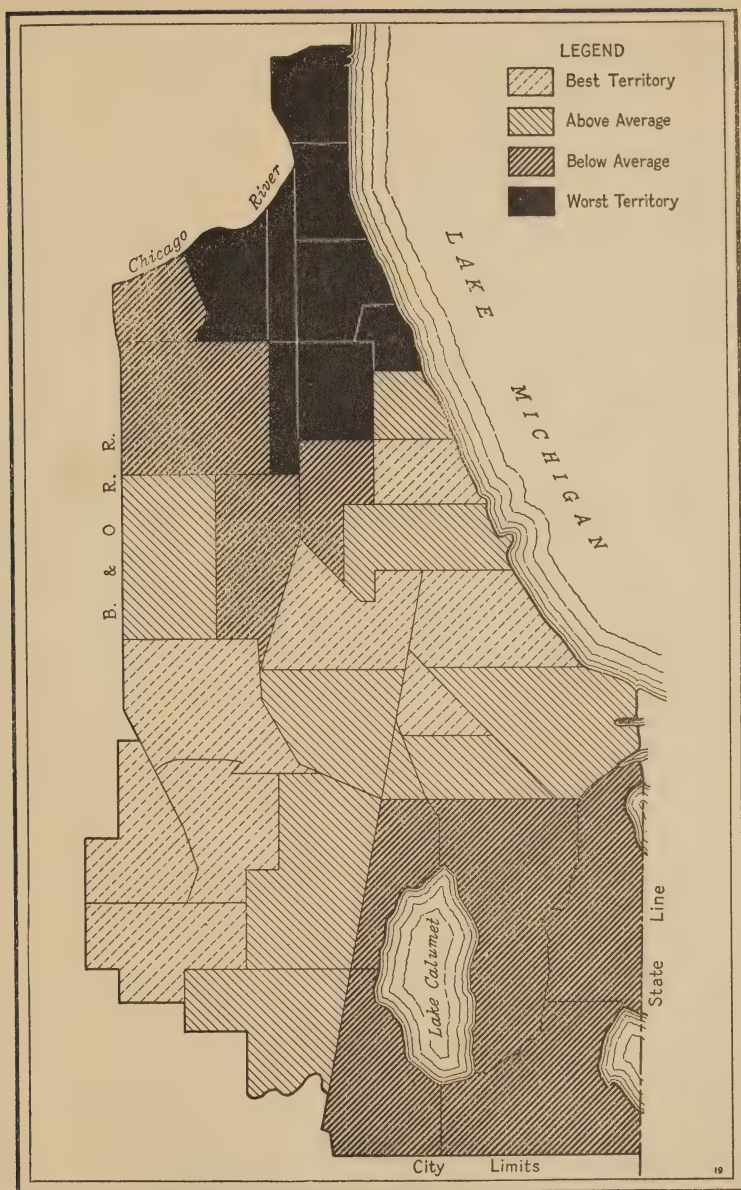
MAP 19—Combined rankings, eight factors of social change,
Chicago sector, 1920-1930 (see Appendix D)

65

worst now will be still worse tomorrow, just as it has been
steadily growing worse during the last decade.[18]   This is the
rule.   Of course, exceptions are expected.   The worst dis-
tricts not only cannot acquire a lower ranking than the
lowest, they can even improve at a rate which gives them a
better ranking than some better districts.   When a district
has been swept almost clean of its population, the fortunes
of the few people that remain may actually have improved.
For example, if in the same district business has wiped out
a block of squalid tenements but a modern apartment re-
mains, the remnant of population may possess a better
average status than the former larger population.   While
the district is still relatively undesirable from the resi-
dential standpoint, its few residents may find themselves
in a somewhat improved situation as compared with the
population of the same district a decade ago.   On the whole,
however, poorer districts get worse rather than better.

So also blessings often run in troops to heap new advan-
tages on people dwelling in territory already more fortu-
nate.   Some of the territory that was best a decade ago is
still better now, and will be even better a decade hence.
On the other hand, from the standpoint of the statistics of
change, the best may be so good that the rate of possible
improvement can be only very slow, while the worst can
be so bad that even a slight improvement on some one fac-
tor may be at a rate relatively more rapid than the best
territory can hope to attain.   This is quite possible even
though the worst territory is on the whole getting steadily
worse.   Some territory that was best ten years ago is now
only a little above average.   This is due to "the tendency
of each inner zone to extend its area by the invasion of the
next outer zone." [19]

The social distance from the poorest to the best districts
in any sector, whatever the specific quality of the best and
of the worst, is far greater than from sector to sector.   It

---

[18] On social trends and social status, see Appendix A, Note 3.
[19] Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 and 55.

may even represent the distance between entirely different continents of culture.[20]

Between the worst and the best lie the social midlands. Some of the middle districts are getting worse, some are

LEGEND
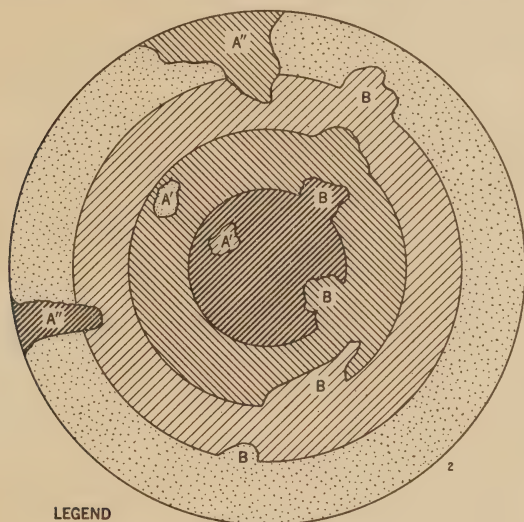
Best Territory

Above Average

Below Average

Worst Territory

A' Good Spots

A" Bad Spots

B Border Areas

CHART II—Simplified schematization of a typically regular
pattern of social change

getting better, and some are just standing still. It is their equivocal state, their as yet ambiguous future, which makes them a problem for the church. Occasionally a district

[20] "The city is a place where people live in physical proximity but at a social distance. . . . Physical distance does not prevent social proximity. The bigger the city the more unsocial it becomes. Between the East Side and the West End of a metropolis there is greater social distance than almost anywhere else on earth. . . . The slums and fine residential areas may be separated by only a few hundred yards geographically, but by thousands of miles in point of view, aspirations and conditions of life." William B. Munro, Art. "City" in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Vol. III, p. 479.

which has been getting steadily worse takes a turn for the
better, as, for example, when an apartment-house develop-
ment reclaims a previously depreciated neighborhood; fre-
quently a district which has been getting better with a
retarded rate of improvement begins gradually to deteri-
orate.   In general, however, the rule is that, within any
given decade, from less fortunate districts is taken away the
meager fortune which they have, and given to those already
the most fortunate.

Even within districts showing clear trends there are often
inconsistencies.   In districts undergoing favorable change
there are bad spots which fail to progress; in districts un-
dergoing unfavorable change there are good spots which are
at least holding their own.   Such pockets of exceptional
territory have real influence on the church.   Chart II shows
an extremely simplified schematization of a pattern of so-
cial change typically regular[21] except for such fragments of
territory showing trends divergent from their general en-
vironment.   These fragments are sometimes pockets, self-
contained and wholly exceptional.   For example, in Los
Angeles there are hollows occupied by Japanese; in St.
Louis along a street railroad's private right of way there
is a segregated Negro district; in Cleveland the village of
Bratenahl is surrounded on its landward side by poorer
districts; and in Philadelphia Rittenhouse Square is an
exceptionally good downtown area.   In the case of border
territory, where one type of area simply spills over into
another, the traditional boundaries, or the district lines
drawn on the basis of field inspection, might well have been

---

[21] For purposes of clarity, the maps discussed in this chapter have been
chosen because of their essential regularity of pattern.   Appendix D discusses
typical variations from the radial distribution of social trends.   Such vari-
ations produce in almost every city peculiar local conditions whch must be
taken into consideration in any practical procedures affecting church planning.
The implication of such variations will be better understood after the facts of
church progress have been outlined, and the correspondence between church
progress and social change has been made clear, with reference to the more
regular patterns of social change.   When the regular has been explained, the
irregular will be more significant.   Admitting that every city is different, it is
well for the time being to center attention on the likeness even of different
cities.

drawn differently so as to exclude from one area such border territories, and include them in the other. In the nature of the case an established boundary tends to become less sharp, under the pressure of social change from an adjoining area; and the drawing of new boundaries for survey processes is subject to minor error.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has measured social trends in typical urban areas. Sixteen urban sectors, typical of the environment in which the American city church is located, have been districted, and the districts studied with reference to their relative social trends. In each sector the districts have been ranked according to their social tendencies, and measured by eight factors of social change. Four levels of human fortune characteristic of all American cities have been mapped as the background against which the city church does its work.

In the worst territory churches must strive against unfavorable environmental tendencies. In the best territory the churches face the opportunity of capitalizing favorable trends in their environment. The city church does its work in the midst of conditions which differ greatly within each city. The responsibility of the individual church varies in important respects according to the human need of the environment. Where there is opulence the need is different from the need of the dependent. Where there is delinquency and lack of sanitation, transiency and squalor, there are added demands for specialized forms of service. What progress are the churches making in the midst of these varying environmental conditions?

Before such a question can be answered the problem of measuring church progress must be faced. Step one, the measurement of social trends in typical urban areas, has been taken. Step two, the measurement of the progress of the churches in the same areas, will be taken in Chapter III.

Chapter III

URBAN CHURCH PROGRESS

The discussion now proceeds to take up the sampling of urban churches, the measurement of their progress, the range and general meaning of this progress, and the classification of the churches according to their relative rates of progress.

THE SAMPLE OF URBAN CHURCHES

Statistics of growth were obtained for nearly 2,000 churches located in the sixteen sectors studied. The distribution of these churches by sectors and by denominations is given in Table III.

TABLE III—NUMBER OF CHURCHES STUDIED IN EACH OF EIGHT MAJOR DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS, BY SECTORS OF CITIES

Sector	Bap-tist†	Cong'l	Dis-ciples	Luth-eran*	Meth-Epis.†	Pres-by'n‡	Prot. Epis.	28 Others	Total
1. Albany.....	5	1	1	5	5	6	7	9	39
2. Chicago.....	23	17	6	39	44	19	21	34	203
3. Cincinnati..	12	6	8	7	23	20	13	21	110
4. Cleveland...	11	13	5	10	16	18	13	17	103
5. Detroit.....	23	9	5	33	27	23	18	20	158
6. Indianapolis	9	2	10	4	18	10	5	20	78
7. Los Angeles.	10	14	11	6	16	15	13	17	102
8. Minneapolis.	10	11	3	21	12	10	8	4	79
9. New York..	39	18	3	49	78	87	121	37	432
10. Philadelphia	18	0	1	14	23	32	30	13	131
11. Pittsburgh..	7	4	6	23	26	34	13	35	148
12. Rochester...	16	2	2	15	12	17	12	18	94
13. St. Louis...	11	7	5	8	16	17	14	7	85
14. Springfield..	7	11	1	2	6	1	4	3	35
15. Washington.	13	3	3	10	19	15	27	15	105
16. Wichita....	7	3	5	2	13	6	2	10	48
Totals........	221	121	75	248	354	330	321	280	1,950

* Including ten Lutheran synods.
† Including North and South.
‡ Including U. S. and U. S. A.
The number of denominations represented by the churches studied in each sector varies from eight to twenty-five.

The sample gives an adequate representation of the chief Protestant denominations in proportion to their relative strength in urban America. The five largest denominations, in the order of the number of churches studied in each, are the Methodist (354 churches), Presbyterian (330), Protestant Episcopal (321), Lutheran (248), and Baptist (221). It is interesting to compare with these figures the membership over thirteen years of age, according to the Federal Census of Religious Bodies of 1926, for each of these bodies in the sixteen cities studied. With full recognition that the census figures cover the entire city in each instance, excluding suburbs but including some Negro members, so that the comparison is at best a loose one, the relative size of the five denominations corresponds fairly closely to the relative number of churches statistically examined in this study. The census figures are as follows:

Lutheran (all synods).............Approximately		350,000
Methodist, North and South.......	"	320,000
Presbyterian, North and South.....	"	300,000
Protestant Episcopal..............	"	280,000
Baptist, North and South..........	"	180,000

The one chief difference between the relative strength of these denominations and the number of churches examined in each of them is the relative position of the Lutherans. Chosen as the sectors were to avoid the more extensive areas occupied predominantly by foreign-speaking groups, they proved to include a somewhat smaller proportion of Lutheran churches than the urban United States would provide as a whole.

Because of the regional character of the smaller denominations it would be quite impossible to choose a group of cities in which the minor Protestant bodies would be evenly distributed. This is particularly true in view of the fact that many of the small denominations are mainly rural. On the whole, however, the sample is a fair representa-

tion of the denominational distribution of the Protestant churches in American cities.[1]

Relative to the portion of the country where most of the cities are located, apart from the fact that the South is not represented, the geographical distribution of the sample is equally fair. The sixteen cities are taken from various sections. In each case the sectors include more than half of the recognized Protestant churches of their respective cities. The total number of churches of all sorts in the sixteen sectors is not known, because non-Protestant churches and non-white churches were excluded to obtain a greater homogeneity in the sample.

However, the relative adequacy of the sample in each city is illustrated by the exact figures for the Los Angeles sector, in which a total of 460 churches were found. Of these only 189 were of the predominantly white denominations included in the study. One hundred and forty-seven of the 189, or nearly 80 per cent., were studied statistically. They included practically all of those in the major denominations and an adequate sampling of the remainder. Churches of nearly a score of denominations made up the Los Angeles sample. What is true of this body of churches is true of the entire white group in the sector.

Of the 147 Los Angeles churches studied statistically, twenty-six were so new that figures covering a ten-year period could not be secured. Others dropped out of consideration for other reasons, leaving for comparison a total of 102, the number included in Table III, or 54 per cent.

---

[1] The Lutheran group includes the following synods: United Lutheran Church, Augustana, Missouri, Norwegian, Ohio, Finnish, Free, United Danish, and Jehovah. The twenty-eight smaller bodies grouped together in Table III include the following: Advent Christian, Seventh Day Adventist, Assembly of God, Church of the Brethren, Churches of Christ, Church of God, Church of the Nazarene, Church of the New Jerusalem, Evangelical Church, Evangelical Synod, Federated Churches, Free Methodist, Friends, Independent Churches, Methodist Protestant, Primitive Methodist, Moravian, Pentecostal, Reformed Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Reformed in America, Reformed in the U. S., Christian Reformed, Swedish Mission Covenant, Swedish Free Church, Unitarian, United Brethren and Universalist.

Fragmentary figures were secured on many other churches, including a considerable group of churches not associated with any particular denomination.

of the regular white Protestant churches in the sector. Similarly adequate samples were studied in other sectors. Because of the fairness of the denominational distribution of the churches studied it may, therefore, be assumed that this sample of almost 2,000 churches represents the white Protestantism of the urban United States.

INDICES OF CHURCH PROGRESS

The progress of the churches studied was measured with reference to three indices, namely increase or decrease, during the last decade, (1) in church-membership; (2) in Sunday-school enrollment; and (3) in total expenditures. The basic statistics on these three points are the reports of the churches on their own growth or decline. They are, however, more than this. They are the best available evidence of institutional vitality and progress. They are proven by experience to be valid, and they are uniformly available, although their use was subject to well-known limitations.

The method of computing the percentage of increase or decrease on each of the three indices of church progress is shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV—METHOD OF COMPUTING PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE ON THREE INDICES OF CHURCH PROGRESS

Dates	Church-Membership	S. S. Enrollment	Total Expenditure
1917	810	623	$16,207
1918	923	811	17,651
1919	1,117	973	20,490
Total.............	2,850	2,407	54,348
Average	950	802	18,116
1927	1,695	926	85,684
1928	1,747	1,013	96,723
1929	1,907	1,257	120,719
Total.............	5,349	3,196	303,126
Average	1,783	1,065	101,042
Increase in Average..	833	263	82,926
Percentage of Increase	87.7	32.8	458.0

The distribution of the rates of growth in church-membership and Sunday-school enrollment of the nearly 2,000 churches during the decade is shown in Table V.

TABLE V—RATES OF CHANGE IN CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP AND SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT DURING THE LAST DECADE

Rate of Change	Percentage of 1,949 Churches	Percentage of 1,881 Sunday Schools
More than 5% decrease.................	28	40
Decrease of 5% to Increase of 5%........	10	9
Increase from 5% to 25%..............	16	15
More than 25% Increase...............	46	36

The percentage of churches and of Sunday schools which were static or gained up to 25 per cent. was almost the same; but the Sunday schools tend strongly toward decrease, while the membership of the large percentage of the churches shows a significant growth.

The percentage of increase or decrease in total expenditures among these same churches is shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI—RATES OF CHANGE IN TOTAL CHURCH EXPENDITURES*

Rate of Change	Percentage of 1,821 Churches
Decrease	10
Increase, up to 100%...........................	42
Increase, 100% to 1,000%......................	46
Increase, over 1,000%.........................	2

* Because of the 1929 economic peak it is altogether likely that the average expenditures reported by the churches at the end of the decade covered by this study were higher than they will be again for a number of years. That 1932 figures would show a considerable slump is equally likely.

These figures are visualized in Charts III and IV.

Table VII shows the percentage of churches in each of the sectors gaining in church-membership, in Sunday-school enrollment and in total expenditures, for the decade studied.

The Pittsburgh sector reports the smallest percentage of churches increasing in church-membership, 55 per cent.

The Los Angeles sector, at the other extreme, reports 82 per cent. of its churches increasing during the decade as compared with a population growth of 115 per cent. be-
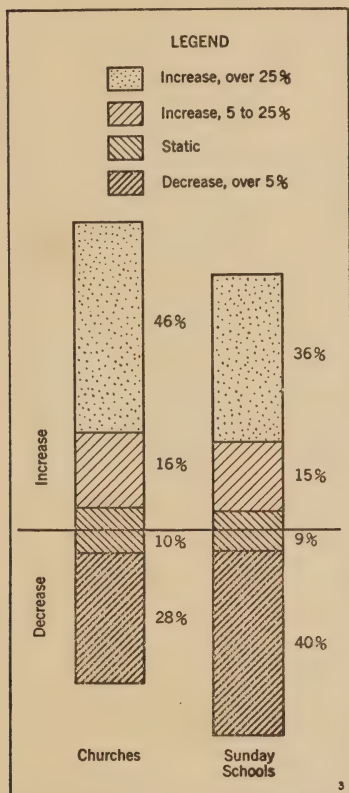
CHART III—Percentage of churches and Sunday schools increasing or decreasing at certain specified rates during the decade studied
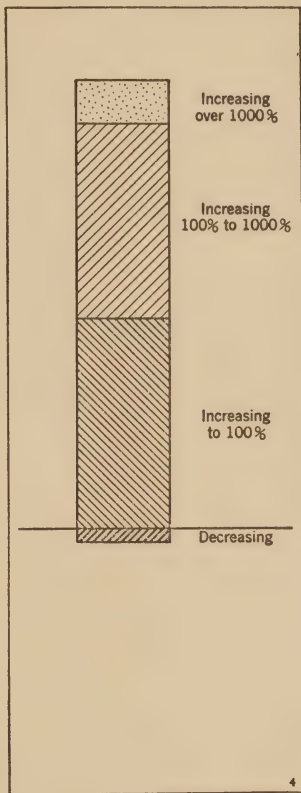
CHART IV — Percentage of churches increasing or decreasing in total expenditures at certain specified rates during the decade studied

tween 1920 and 1930 in the entire city. Throughout the entire range of the sixteen sectors the percentage of churches increasing in membership corresponds roughly

TABLE VII—PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES GAINING WITH REFERENCE TO THREE
INDICES OF CHURCH PROGRESS IN EACH OF SIXTEEN SECTORS

Church-Membership		Sunday-School Enrollment		Total Expenditures	
	%		%		%
Pittsburgh	55	New York	40	Indianapolis	80
Philadelphia	57	Springfield	45	Pittsburgh	85
Cincinnati	61	Philadelphia	48	Springfield	88
New York	61	Albany	49	Albany	89
Washington	66	Pittsburgh	53	Cincinnati	89
Albany	67	Cincinnati	55	Minneapolis	89
Springfield	68	Rochester	56	St. Louis	89
Chicago	71	Chicago	60	Wichita	89
Cleveland	72	Washington	61	New York	90
Minneapolis	74	Wichita	63	Philadelphia	90
Detroit	76	Cleveland	64	Washington	90
St. Louis	79	Los Angeles	66	Cleveland	92
Wichita	80	St. Louis	71	Los Angeles	92
Indianapolis	81	Detroit	77	Chicago	94
Rochester	81	Indianapolis	82	Rochester	94
Los Angeles	82	Minneapolis	85	Detroit	95
All sectors	68	All sectors	56	All sectors	89

NOTE: In the above table percentages for 207 churches in the Philadelphia sector have
been computed on the basis of partial figures for the churches outside the city limits.
Seventy-four churches, belonging to five leading denominations, located in Delaware
County, not elsewhere included in figures for the Philadelphia sector, have been added so
as to make the sector figures comparable with those of the other sectors.

with population growth. Sometimes the rate of church
growth exceeded that of population increase. For ex-
ample, the white Protestant churches of Albany grew 14
per cent. in the decade while the total population was in-
creasing only 12.4 per cent.

The range of percentages of Sunday schools increasing
is somewhat greater. The smallest, 40 per cent., is re-
ported by the New York sector, while the largest occurs in
the Minneapolis sector, where 85 per cent. of the Sunday
schools increased during the decade. These percentages
reflect not only the varying population growth in the dif-
ferent sectors, but also to a large extent the age of the city.

There is distinctly less difference among the percentages
indicating the number of churches which increased in their
total expenditures. On the whole, whether growing in
membership or not, churches inevitably increased in their
expenditures during the last decade. To have lived

through the decade at all meant to spend more money at the end of it than at the beginning. Not to do so, in most cases, meant that the church was already dead. In view of the 1929 financial peak toward which all America moved, it is not surprising that even in the Indianapolis sector, which reports the smallest percentage of churches increasing in total expenditures, four out of five, or 80 per cent., did so. At the other extreme, 95 per cent. of the churches in the Detroit sector increased in expenditures. In general, churches in large and rapidly growing cities increased somewhat more rapidly in the total amount of their expenditures than churches in smaller cities which were growing more slowly; but all urban churches increased rapidly in their expenditures. The meaning of these increases could be adequately understood only on the basis of a more adequate comparison with the amount of indebtedness incurred by the churches of each sector[2] than is possible on the basis of the data gathered in this study.

Table VIII shows the percentage of churches gaining on each index by denominations. The high percentage of churches gaining among the Disciples of Christ is offset by

TABLE VIII—PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES GAINING WITH REFERENCE TO THREE INDICES OF CHURCH PROGRESS IN EACH OF EIGHT MAJOR DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS

CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP Per cent. Denomination gaining	SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT Per cent. Denomination gaining	TOTAL EXPENDITURES Per cent. Denomination gaining
Disciples 77	Disciples 72	Disciples 94
Congregational 74	Baptist 67	Baptist 92
Presb., U. S. A. 71	Lutheran (10) 59	Congregational 89
Lutheran (10) 69	Meth. Episcopal . . . 58	Prot. Episcopal 89
Meth. Episcopal . . . 69	30 small bodies 57	Lutheran (10) 88
Baptist 67	Congregational 52	Presb., U. S. A 88
30 small bodies 67	Prot. Episcopal 50	Meth. Episcopal . . . 87
Prot. Episcopal 58	Presb., U. S. A. 49	30 small bodies 86
All denominations . . 68	All denominations . . 56	All denominations . . 89

[2] For a general discussion of church debts, see Fry, *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), pp. 86, 127, 128.

the comparatively small number of churches involved.   The
same is true to a lesser extent of the Congregationalists.
Presbyterians, Lutherans, Methodists and Baptists, because
of their wide distribution geographically and their large
number of churches, stay close to the average for all
denominations.
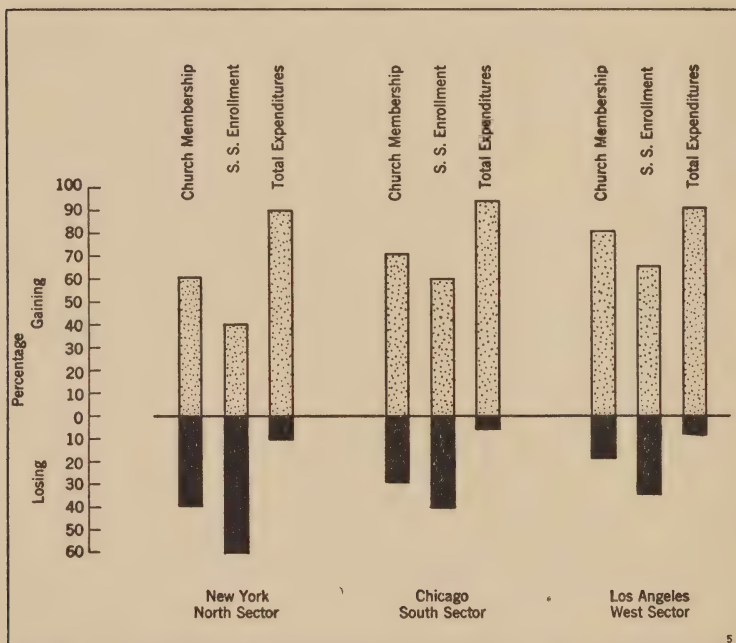
CHART V—Percentage of churches gaining or losing on each of three indices
of church progress, in sectors of three typical cities

The Baptist Sunday-school gains are most outstanding,
and the percentage of Presbyterian losses even greater than
that among the Protestant Episcopal schools.   That less
than half of the sampling of Sunday schools in so educa-
tionally minded a body as the Presbyterians should have
gained during the decade is a rather alarming index as to
the numerical progress of the Sunday-school movement.
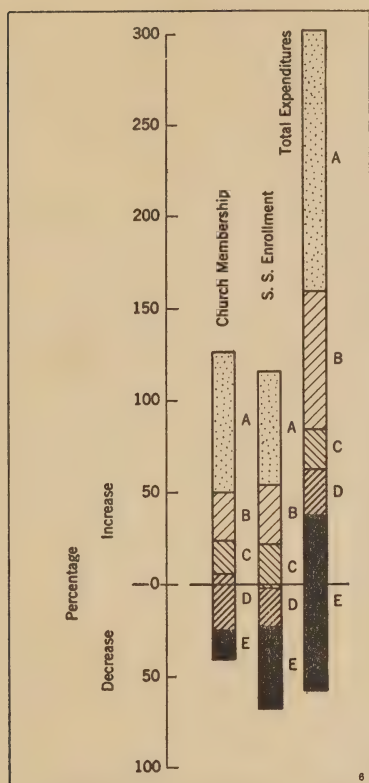
CHART VI—Percentages of increase and decrease for the rankings (A to E) on each of the three indices of church progress in Albany

Total expenditures are consistently high in all denominations, and it is not surprising that the lowest percentage of churches increasing in total expenditures should be among the smaller bodies.

Chart V illustrates for three of the largest sectors, one on the Atlantic Coast, one on the Pacific Coast, and one in the Middle West, the sharply contrasting rates of increase and decrease on each of the three indices of church progress in the case of individual sectors.

RANKING AND GROUPING THE CHURCHES

In each sector all the churches were ranked on each index of progress exactly as the cities were ranked on social trends (cf. Table II, p. 62).

Beginning with the group showing the greatest increase on the index under consideration, churches were designated respectively A, B, C, D, and E, according to their relative progress on that index. Thus when grouped with reference to church-membership the thirty-nine churches studied in Albany fell into the following grades:

A—Highest Fifth—55% to 127% increase.
B—Above Average—25% to 50% increase.

C—Average Fifth—8% to 24% increase.

D—Below Average—24% decrease to 6% increase.

E—Lowest Fifth—41% to 25% decrease.

The percentages on the other two indices were similarly divided into fifths. The results for the three indices are visualized in Chart VI.[3]

The values of the grade letters A to E are not absolute but relative. A church ranked A is in the highest fifth of progress of all the churches in the sector with reference to the index under discussion. A church ranked as E is in the lowest fifth of progress. A church ranking C shows average growth in the sector.

A church ranking A C E is one whose rate of membership increase brings it into the grade of churches showing greatest increase, whose rate of Sunday-school enrollment increase or decrease brings it into the grade of churches showing a median rate of change in Sunday-school enrollment, and whose rate of increase or decrease in total expenditures brings it into the lowest fifth of the churches in the sector so far as change in financial outgo is concerned.

Similarly, a church might rank A B A, D C A, or any other combination of the five letters, according to its relative rate of increase or decrease within its sector on each of the three indices.

The percentage values of the grade letters A to E vary greatly from city to city; but each letter represents a corresponding grade of relative progress throughout all of the sectors.

Finally, just as all the worst territory in the sixteen sectors was grouped together, and all the best, so all the churches ranking A on any index were grouped together, and all the churches ranking E. Similarly, just as there is above-average territory and below-average territory for the sixteen sectors taken as a whole, so on each index there are churches ranking B, C, or D on any of the three indices.

---

[3] This method of ranking and grouping the churches when applied to all the sectors yields the results indicated in Appendix A, Note 4.

The relative progress of an adequate sample of urban churches, located in the sixteen urban sectors whose social trends were earlier studied, has now been measured. The next step, to be taken in Chapter IV, is to compare the relative social progress of the churches located in the four types of territory identified in Chapter II with the varying social trends characteristic of each area.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN URBAN CHURCH PROGRESS AND URBAN SOCIAL CHANGE

Within each sector Chapter II distinguished four levels of social change, and Chapter III measured five grades of church progress. Now the comparison of the progress of the churches with the degree and direction of social change taking place in their environment is to be made. Do the churches in the best territory make the most progress? Do the churches in the worst territory make the least progress? The evidence that such a correspondence exists is overwhelming. This chapter presents the data substantiating this general assertion, explains its meaning and defines the degree to which church progress and social change have been found to correspond.

GAIN AND LOSS IN THE FOUR TYPES OF TERRITORY

Even without any analysis of the grade of progress by the churches located in different types of territory, the different proportion of churches gaining in membership in each type of territory in itself constitutes unmistakable evidence of the correspondence between church progress and social change. In best territory 83 per cent. of the churches gained; in above-average territory 77 per cent. gained; in below-average territory only 62 per cent., and in worst territory only 52 per cent. These figures are visualized in Chart VII which shows the close correspondence between church progress or lack of it and social change favorable or

unfavorable. What is true of church-membership is true also of Sunday-school enrollment.[1]
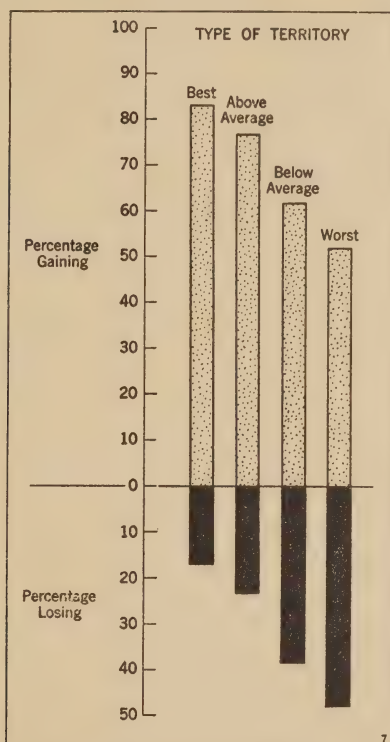
CHART VII — Percentage of churches
gaining and losing in church-membership
in each type of territory

CHARACTERISTIC RANKINGS OF CHURCH PROGRESS IN THE FOUR TYPES OF TERRITORY

First with reference to one index of church progress in a sample sector, then with regard to each of the three indices and all the sixteen sectors, the distribution of the number

---

[1] See Appendix E for further details as to contrasts among denominations in the proportion of their churches gaining on each index in different types of territory.

of rankings of each grade of church progress in a descending scale from A to E [2] in the four types of territory is now set forth. The distribution of the total number of rankings by types of territory, and as between better and poorer territory, is then exhibited in table and chart. The figures for each of the sixteen sectors and for each of eight major denominational groups are found to confirm those for all the churches studied.

The rule of correspondence thus established by the use of rankings is further supported by details as to the percentage of churches in each type of territory showing characteristic rankings when the churches are considered with reference to all three rankings; and again sector and denominational figures confirm the general rule of correspondence between church progress and social change.

Finally, the exceptions are noted for discussion in a later chapter.

The meaning of each of these steps will become plain as the chapter proceeds.

In view of the fact that each church is ranked on three indices of progress, a study of the rankings on each index and for the three indices presents the simplest picture of the tendency of church progress to correspond with social change. This involves the distribution of rankings of church progress according to the different types of territory. Before attempting to analyze church rankings as a whole it will be advantageous to particularize the general conclusion and illustrate by a typical sector the way the rankings support the rule.

The varying social trends described in Chapter II seem to afford an explanation of the varying rates of progress among the churches in the four types of territory. The general rule is that the highest rankings of church progress occur most frequently in territory undergoing most favorable social change. The characteristic church in territory called "best" from the standpoint of social change is a

---

[2] See Chapter III, p. 79.

church which shows the highest rates of numerical progress. The general rule also shows that the lowest rankings of church progress occur most frequently in territory undergoing the most unfavorable change. The characteristic church in "worst" territory from the standpoint of social trends is a church which is actually declining. These statements are illustrated and explained most clearly by a specific example.

In the Cleveland sector the distribution of 105 churches with reference to the first index of church progress, increase or decrease in church-membership, is shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX—RANKINGS OF CHURCHES IN THE CLEVELAND SECTOR WITH REFERENCE TO INCREASE OR DECREASE IN CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP

Type of Territory	NUMBER OF CHURCHES					Total
	Rankings					
	A	B	C	D	E	
Best	7	3	0	3	3	16
Above Average.............	7	10	5	3	4	29
Below Average.............	6	6	14	9	9	44
Worst	1	2	2	6	5	16
Total	21	21	21	21	21	105

In the best territory in Cleveland ten out of the sixteen churches rank A and B, while only six rank D and E. In the best territory there are nearly twice as many churches in the two groups making most rapid progress as in the two groups making least progress. Similarly in the worst territory eleven out of sixteen churches rank D and E, while only three rank A and B. In the worst territory there are nearly four times as many churches in the two groups making least progress as in the two groups making most progress. Such broad contrasts illustrate the rule of correspondence between church progress and social trends. If all urban churches are distributed as are the churches of the Cleveland sector, the rule is established by the very nature of their distribution. Is the Cleveland sector typical?

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RANKINGS OF CHURCH PROGRESS IN
THE SIXTEEN SECTORS

The sixteen sectors involved in this study can now be substituted for Cleveland. Group all the "best" territory together, all the "above-average" territory, all the "below-average" and all the "worst." Instead of a single urban sector with its 105 churches a synthetic city made up of the sixteen sectors with their contrasting districts and their total of 1,970 churches is now to be considered. How are these 1,970 churches distributed? Does stepping up the sample approximately twenty times change the picture?

Applying precisely the same method to the 1,970 churches as to the Cleveland churches with reference to each of the three indices of church progress in turn, and substituting percentages for the number of churches of each rank in each type of territory, the figures given in Table X are the result.

TABLE X—PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES IN EACH TYPE OF TERRITORY RANKING
A, B, C, D, AND E ON EACH INDEX OF PROGRESS—1,970 CHURCHES

Index	Type of Territory		PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES RANKINGS					
			A	B	C	D	E	Total
Church-membership	Best		41.0	26.0	15.0	10.0	8.0	100.0
	Above	Aver.	28.0	22.0	21.0	16.5	12.5	100.0
	Below	"	14.0	20.3	21.7	21.7	22.3	100.0
	Worst		9.0	12.0	19.5	24.5	35.0	100.0
Sunday-school Enrollment	Best		42.0	24.0	14.0	10.4	9.6	100.0
	Above	Aver.	25.5	25.0	20.0	18.5	11.0	100.0
	Below	"	13.6	17.0	22.0	24.0	23.4	100.0
	Worst		12.0	14.0	20.0	23.0	31.0	100.0
Total Expenditures	Best		40.0	19.5	20.0	10.5	10.0	100.0
	Above	Aver.	21.0	22.0	21.0	20.5	15.5	100.0
	Below	"	13.6	18.5	20.3	21.2	26.4	100.0
	Worst		9.5	16.0	19.5	25.0	30.0	100.0

In the best territory 67 per cent. of the churches rank A and B on increase or decrease in church-membership, while only 18 per cent. rank D or E. In the best territory high rankings on the first index are nearly four times as frequent

as low rankings. Sixty-six per cent. of the churches rank
A or B in the best territory as to increase or decrease in
Sunday-school enrollment, while only 20 per cent. rank D
or E. In the best territory high rankings on the second
index are more than three times as frequent as low rank-
ings. For the third index the figures are 59.5 per cent. and
20.5 per cent., or again three to one.

On the other hand, in the worst territory 59.5 per cent. of
the churches rank D or E on the first index, as against 21
per cent. ranking A or B. Here again the proportion is
nearly three to one. On the second index the figures are
54 per cent. D or E, 26 per cent. A or B, more than two to
one; on the third index 55 per cent. and 25.5 per cent.,
again more than two to one.

Such broadly contrasting percentages make it evident
that the tendency is for church progress to correspond with
social change. In the best territory high rankings are three
times as frequent as low rankings; in the worst territory
low rankings are more than twice as frequent as high rank-
ings. When only the first index is considered the contrasts
are still more marked.

The overwhelming tendencies shown in this analysis of
the percentages with reference to each index taken separ-
ately are made all the more evident when the rankings on
all three indices are combined, when instead of three tables,
one for each index of church progress, a single set of figures
is substituted.

Just as the eight factors of social change were combined
in Table II of Chapter II, to show the ranking of the dis-
tricts on all the factors of social change taken together, so
in Table XI the rankings of the churches are added to-
gether so as to indicate the total number of each ranking
among the churches of each type of territory. In this in-
stance the three indices are not combined in the case of
individual churches, but the rankings on all three indices
are totaled for all the churches to discover the characteristic
distribution for the different types of territory. The total

is secured in this manner: All the A rankings for churches in the best territory are added together, all the A rankings for churches in above average territory, all the A rankings for churches in below average territory, and all the A rankings for churches in the worst territory. The same is true of the B, C, D and E rankings in each type of territory.

According to Table XI, 64 per cent. of the rankings in the case of churches in the best territory are A and B, as against 19.6 per cent. D and E. This again is more than three high rankings to one of the low. In the worst territory, on the contrary, 56.4 per cent. of the rankings are D and E, as against 24 per cent. A and B, a proportion far in excess of two to one. Such contrasting percentages make it unmistakably plain that the tendency of church progress is to correspond with social change.

TABLE XI—PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES IN EACH TYPE OF TERRITORY RANKING
A, B, C, D AND E

Type of Territory	A	B	C	D	E	Total Percentage
Best	41.0	23.0	16.4	10.4	9.2	100.0
Above Average...........	25.0	23.0	20.7	18.3	13.0	100.0
Below Average...........	14.0	18.6	21.4	22.0	24.0	100.0
Worst	10.0	14.0	19.6	24.0	32.4	100.0

(This table gives percentages based on totals from a table showing similar data for each sector, which in turn summarizes three tables each dealing with a single index of church progress. For numbers rather than percentages see Appendix A, Note 4.)

Chart VIII shows that while all grades of church progress are found in all types of territory, when these grades of church progress are distributed among each of the four types of territory their proportions show a marked difference. This difference is definitely related to the type of area.

The best territory shows the highest proportion of its rankings in the highest (A) grade of church progress, and its second greatest proportion in the second (B) grade of church progress. So the proportions follow the grades until the smallest proportion of the churches in the best territory is of the lowest (E) grade.

In above-average territory this relationship is modified by the lessening of the proportion of the higher grades of church progress (A and B) and the corresponding increase of the proportion of the lower grades of church progress (D and E).
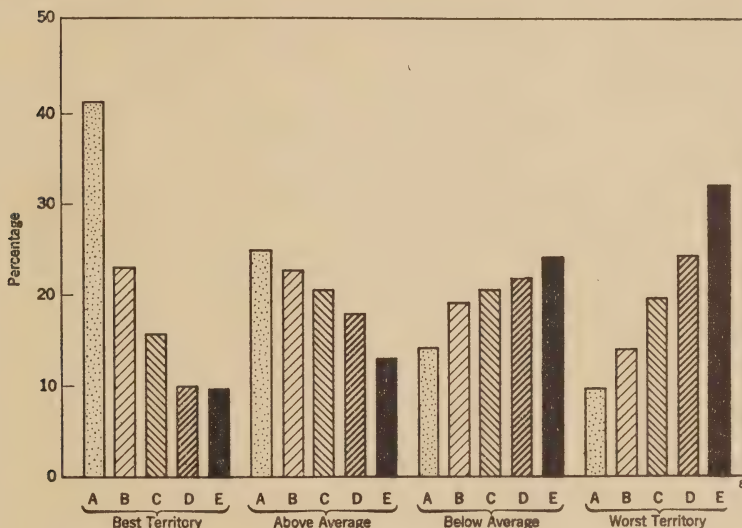
CHART VIII—Total number of rankings of church progress of each grade (A to E) distributed by type of territory

In below-average territory the proportion of the higher grades of church progress (A and B) is still further lessened, while that of the lower grades of church progress (D and E) is increased. This reverses the relationship between the higher and the lower grades of church progress, as compared with that in above-average territory.

This reversal of proportions is carried still further in the worst territory. The balanced symmetry of the pattern is carried to its extreme point of contrast in the poorest territory, where the proportion of the highest grades of church progress (A and B) is reduced to a minimum, and that of the lowest grades of church progress (D and E) rises to a

maximum.   The situation in the worst territory is almost
the exact reversal of the situation in the best territory, just
as the above-average and below-average patterns are
almost precisely the obverse and the converse of one
another.

In all four types of territory the proportion of median
grades of church progress (C) remains practically constant.
In every type of territory there are churches making
average progress.   In the best territory the proportion of
churches making most rapid progress rises to its highest
point.   In the worst territory the proportion of the churches
making least progress or actually losing ground rises to
its highest point.   In territories that are nearer average
the scales are more evenly balanced, but church progress
rises or dips in the direction of social change, whichever
way social change be tending.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RANKINGS OF CHURCH PROGRESS BY TYPES OF TERRITORY

Up to this point the discussion has considered the distri-
bution of the total number of rankings in each type of ter-
ritory by grade (A to E).   A similar comparison of the per-
centages of the total number of rankings in each grade of
church progress (A to E) by type of territory shows quite
as striking contrasts.

Table IX shows that fourteen out of the twenty-one
churches ranking A on church-membership increase in the
Cleveland sector are in better territory.   This is 66.7 per
cent.   Likewise fourteen out of the twenty-one churches
ranking E are in poorer territory.   This is also 66.7 per
cent.   The same procedure can be applied to the percent-
ages of the total number of rankings of each grade on the
three indices for all the churches in all the sectors, distrib-
uting the rankings by types of area.

Table XII shows the percentage of each grade of church
progress in each type of territory, and in better and poorer

TABLE XII—PERCENTAGE OF A, B, C, D, AND E RANKINGS OF CHURCH
PROGRESS IN EACH TYPE OF TERRITORY

Type of Territory	A	B	C	D	E
Better	68.8	54.1	43.8	35.8	26.1
Best	36.1	21.9	15.2	9.9	8.4
Above Average	32.7	32.2	28.6	25.9	17.7
Poorer	31.2	45.9	56.2	64.2	73.9
Below Average........	19.3	28.1	31.7	33.7	34.7
Worst	11.9	17.8	24.5	30.5	39.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

areas, based on the total number of rankings for all three
indices of church progress.[3]

Chart IX shows that the highest proportion of A rank-
ings is in best territory, the second greatest proportion in
above-average territory, next to the lowest proportion in
below-average territory, and the lowest proportion in the
worst territory.

Similarly, the highest proportion of B rankings is found
in above-average territory, the next greatest proportion in
below-average territory, next to the lowest proportion in
best territory, and the lowest proportion in worst territory.

As would be expected, C rankings occur in largest pro-
portion in territories just below and above average.

In the case of D rankings the relationship between the
proportions in above-average and below-average territory
is the reverse of that in the case of B rankings, and the
proportions for best and worst territory are similarly re-
versed. D rankings occur most frequently in below-
average territory, next in worst, slightly less frequently in
above-average, and least frequently in best territory.

The balanced symmetry of this pattern, like that of
Charts VII and VIII, culminates in the contrast between
the distribution of the E rankings and the A rankings.

---

[3] In Tables X and XI the percentages for each type of territory total 100;
in Table XII the percentages for each grade total 100.

Here the proportion of the E rankings in best territory is even smaller than the proportion of A rankings in worst territory. On the other hand, above-average territory has more than twice as many E rankings as does the worst, the
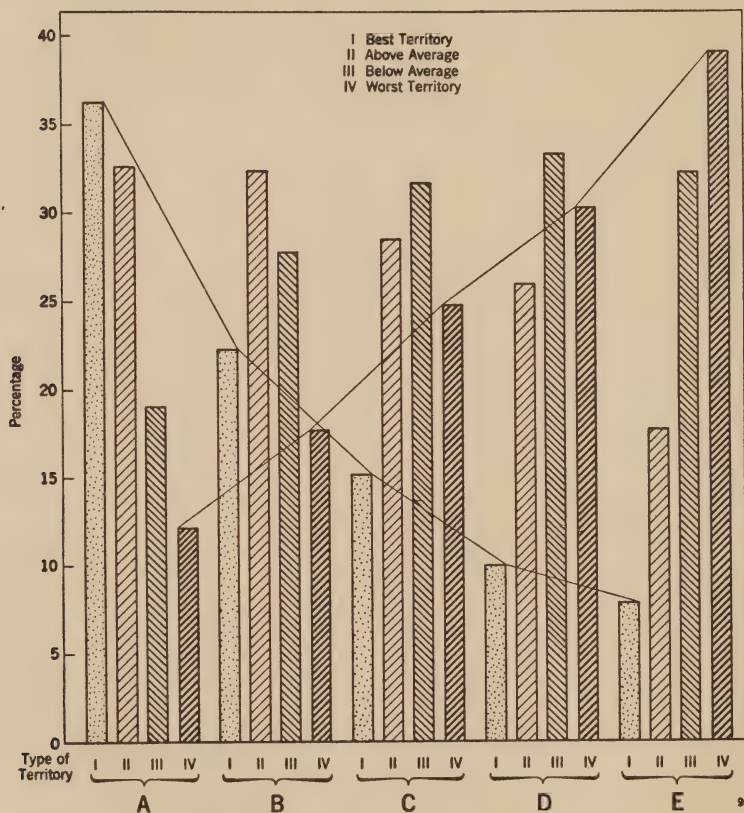
CHART IX—Total number of rankings of church progress in each type of territory distributed by grade (A to E)

rate nearly doubles again in below average territory, and is highest of all in the worst territory.

Chart X, which shows a distribution of each grade of total rankings only for better and poorer areas, makes the

correspondence of church progress and social trends exceptionally vivid. The descending stairway exhibits an exact
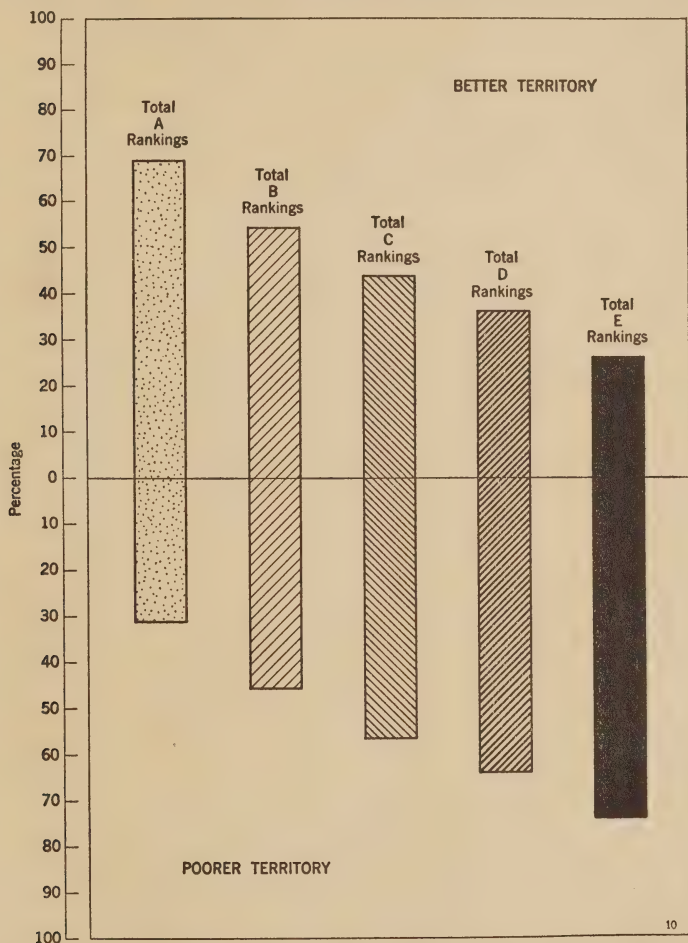
CHART X—Percentage of total number of rankings of church progress of each grade (A to E) in better and in poorer territory for all sixteen sectors

parallelism between church progress and social change. The proportion of the total higher rankings in the better

territory is high; the proportion of the total lower rankings in the poorer territory is high.   Sixty-one and eight-tenths per cent. of the A and B rankings taken together are in better territory, 69.1 per cent. of the D and E rankings taken together are in poorer territory.   In other words, more than three out of five of the two highest grades of church progress are in better territory; and nearly seven out of ten of the two lowest grades of church progress are in poorer territory.

TABLE XIII—PERCENTAGE OF A, B, C, D AND E RANKINGS OF CHURCH
PROGRESS IN BETTER TERRITORY, IN EACH OF SIXTEEN SECTORS

Sectors	A	B	RANKING C	D	E
1. Albany	59	52	37	45	37
2. Chicago	78	77	64	61	43
3. Cincinnati	66	35	34	19	29
4. Cleveland	74	55	34	30	30
5. Detroit	58	28	23	15	17
6. Indianapolis	48	47	20	17	15
7. Los Angeles	69	28	32	25	13
8. Minneapolis	51	36	17	32	19
9. New York	76	62	52	36	20
10. Philadelphia	61	50	36	37	29
11. Pittsburgh	67	51	47	44	20
12. Rochester	72	53	54	53	50
13. St. Louis	66	69	46	35	24
14. Springfield	72	55	63	29	37
15. Washington	76	57	43	30	28
16. Wichita	59	64	48	43	33
Total	69	54	44	36	26

Table XIII and Chart XI show that this correspondence between church progress and social change holds with varying degrees in all the sectors.   Always the extremes of church progress are related to the extremes of social tendency; in some sectors the symmetry of the pattern is more marked than in others.   Especially is this true of the middle range of church progress and social change.

The percentage of the total number of each ranking of church progress in better and in poorer territory varies in two ways from sector to sector.   In Chicago, the larger
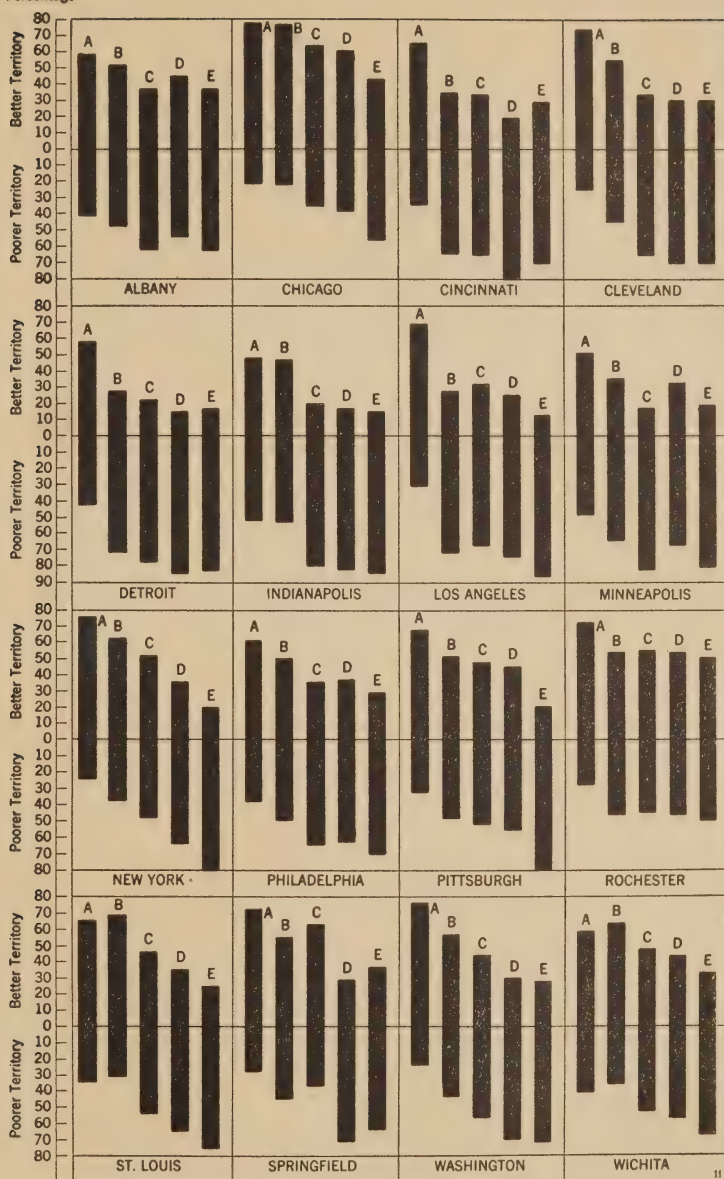
CHART XI—Percentage of total number of rankings of church progress of
each grade (A to E) in better and in poorer territory
in each of sixteen sectors

95

percentage of four of the five rankings is in better territory; in Detroit the reverse. This is due to the location of the larger number of churches in better territory in Chicago, and in poorer in Detroit. Another difference from city to city is in the symmetry of the pattern. Rankings decidedly out of line with the usual pattern are as follows: D in Albany, E in Cincinnati, C in Minneapolis, C and E in Springfield and B in Wichita. Most symmetrical patterns are shown by New York and Washington, least symmetrical by Albany, Minneapolis and Springfield. In Rochester the B, C, D and E rankings are distributed with striking similarity. In every instance, however, the contrast between the distribution of the A and the distribution of the E rankings shows conformity of church progress with social change.

Table XIV and Chart XII show that correspondence between church progress and social change also holds with varying degrees in all the denominations. Here again some

TABLE XIV—PERCENTAGE OF A, B, C, D AND E RANKINGS OF CHURCH PROGRESS IN BETTER TERRITORY IN EACH OF EIGHT MAJOR DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS

Group	RANKING				
	A	B	C	D	E
Baptist	64	50	48	40	31
Congregational	64	58	47	39	36
Disciples	67	45	24	47	41
Lutheran (10)	60	41	36	30	22
Methodist Episcopal	72	61	47	42	23
Presbyterian U. S. A.	77	51	41	37	24
Protestant Episcopal	72	62	46	30	26
30 Other Bodies	65	52	52	36	32

of the denominations have the larger number of their churches in one type of territory, some in another. The denominational patterns are more regular than the sector patterns. The only rankings decidedly out of line with the usual pattern are the B and C rankings among the Disciples.[4]

---

[4] Another way of proving the correspondence between urban church progress and urban social change would be to observe the rankings of church progress

Percentage
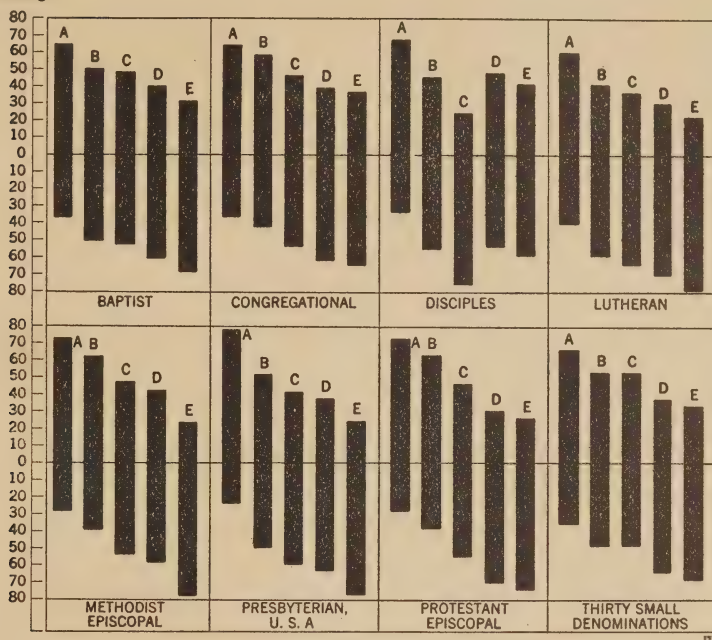
CHART XII—Percentage of total number of rankings of church progress of
each grade (A to E) in better and in poorer territory in each of
eight major denominational groups

CHARACTERISTIC CHURCHES IN THE FOUR TYPES OF TERRI-
TORY

The previous discussion has dealt with rankings. Now
the churches, each of which has been ranked on three in-
dices, are to be considered. In order to state in terms of

that are modal in better and in poorer territory. For example, Table IX
showed a distribution of churches in which churches ranking A are modal in
the best territory. Similarly churches ranking B are modal in above-average
territory and churches ranking C in below-average territory. In the worst
territory the mode is not quite so clear; it might be called either D or D-E.
These modal rankings with respect to church-membership growth in the
Cleveland sector occur with overwhelmingly greater frequency than any
other rankings in their respective types of territory.

When the synthetic city with its 1,970 churches is substituted for the
Cleveland sector, and the other two indices of church progress (increase or
decrease in Sunday-school enrollment and in total expenditures) are added,

churches the correspondence between church progress and social change already discovered, so far as total number of rankings is concerned, the relative progress of individual churches must be found to correspond with the social trends of their environment. If in better territory churches most frequently show higher rankings, and in poorer territory churches most frequently show lower rankings, then this is in itself evidence of the correspondence between the progress of the churches and the social trends of their environment.

The characteristic churches in the best territory do have high rankings, in above-average territory characteristic churches have above-average rankings, in below-average territory below-average rankings, and in the worst territory low rankings.

The grade of progress made by any church is indicated by two of its rankings. An inconsistency on one index is held not to invalidate the grading. Characteristic churches in the best territory have the highest rankings—A or B— on at least two indices. Characteristic churches in above-average territory have the average rank of C or higher on two indices. In below-average territory characteristic churches rank C or lower on two indices. Characteristic

the resulting modality is similar. Table XV shows modes in the best territory, and in the worst, that could not be more sharply defined. An A ranking on any index is invariably modal in the best territory. An E ranking on any index is invariably modal in the worst territory. The situation is more equivocal in the districts nearer average. The almost uncanny symmetry of the most frequent rankings shown in Table XV is in line with that of Charts VII to X.

TABLE XV—MOST FREQUENT RANKINGS ON EACH OF THREE INDICES OF CHURCH PROGRESS—ALL SIXTEEN SECTORS

Type of Territory	Church-membership	Sunday School	Total Expenditures
Best	A	A	A
Above Average	A	AB	ABCD
Below Average	BCDE	DE	E
Worst	E	E	E

(Where more than one letter occurs the rankings indicated are of almost equal frequency.)

churches in the worst territory have the lowest rankings—
D or E—on at least two indices.

The progress of 64 per cent. of the churches corresponds
with the social trends in their environment.[5] Sixty-seven
per cent. of the churches in areas undergoing relatively
favorable social change (better territory) have high or
above-average rankings. Sixty-one per cent. of the churches
in areas undergoing unfavorable social change (poorer ter-
ritory) have below-average or low rankings.

<center>COMPARISON BY SECTORS</center>

Granting a certain degree of general correspondence be-
tween church progress and social change, one may still ask:
Does this correspondence hold for all the sectors studied
and for all the denominations? The answer to this ques-
tion also is affirmative.

The correspondence of church progress with social trends,
as measured by the percentage of churches with character-
istic rankings, shows some variation in amount from sector
to sector. Table XVI shows the details of correspondence
between church progress and social change for each of the
sixteen sectors.

The lowest percentage of correspondence of church prog-
ress with social trends is in Pittsburgh, where only 46 per
cent. of the churches conform to the rule (47 per cent. in

---

[5] The amount of correspondence here indicated has been very conserva-
tively computed. It will be noted that in ranking the churches on the three
indices of church progress five groups were used, rather than four. The exact-
ness of the percentages in the case of the churches made possible a finer di-
vision, and in this instance it was not necessary to have a number of groups
divisible by two as was statistically required in the case of the districts. To
divide the churches into groups one more in number than the number into
which the districts were divided made it possible to regard a number of
churches as marginal in their rankings. These marginal churches have been
entirely ignored throughout this report. "Characteristic" churches have been
arbitrarily defined in so conservative a manner as to make the degree of cor-
respondence well within the facts. It would easily have been possible to
broaden the definition of characteristic churches to a point where a much larger
percentage of the churches would be said to observe the rule of conformity
with the trends in their neighborhoods. The variant churches to be discussed
in Chapter V are less than 13 per cent. of the total. This leaves a margin of
23 per cent. of the churches regarded as neither characteristic nor variant in
their respective types of territory.

better territory, and 45 per cent. in poorer); and in Wichita
where only 46 per cent. of the churches conform to the rule
(54 per cent. in better and 36 per cent. in poorer terri-
tory). The explanation of the situation in Wichita is un-
doubtedly connected with the accessibility of the central
churches from all parts of the city, and the strength of
these central congregations. The highest percentage of
correspondence is in Cleveland, where 76 per cent. of the

TABLE XVI—PERCENTAGE OF CHARACTERISTIC CHURCHES IN EACH OF
SIXTEEN SECTORS

| Sectors | PERCENTAGE OF CHARACTERISTIC CHURCHES | | |
	In Entire Sector	In Better Territory	In Poorer Territory
Pittsburgh	46	47	45
Wichita	46	54	36
Detroit	59	79	51
Cincinnati	60	73	53
Chicago	62	51	78
Minneapolis	62	68	57
St. Louis	63	73	55
Albany	64	61	67
Indianapolis	65	84	57
Rochester	65	68	59
Philadelphia	66	77	57
Washington	66	80	55
Los Angeles	67	66	69
New York	70	72	68
Springfield	71	68	75
Cleveland	75	76	76
Totals	64	57	61

churches conform to the rule, alike in better and in poorer
territory. Eleven of the sixteen sectors range from 59 per
cent. to 67 per cent. in the proportion of churches illustrat-
ing the rule of correspondence between church progress and
social change. In better territory in half of the sectors
more than 70 per cent. of the churches illustrate the rule,
and in thirteen of the sectors more than 65 per cent. do so.
In only one sector do more than half of the churches in
better territory fail to conform to the rule.

COMPARISON BY MAJOR DENOMINATIONS

Details of correspondence between church progress and social change by denominations are shown in Table XVII. There are variations among the denominations as to the amount of correspondence between church progress and social change, but these variations are less than the variations among the sectors. The rule of correspondence holds for the major denominational groups even more uniformly than for the sectors.

TABLE XVII—PERCENTAGE OF CHARACTERISTIC CHURCHES IN EACH OF EIGHT
MAJOR DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS

| | PERCENTAGE OF CHARACTERISTIC CHURCHES | | |
Denominations	In Entire Sector	In Better Territory	In Poorer Territory
Baptist*	58	69	50
Congregational	60	53	68
Disciples	56	67	48
Lutherans†	61	73	53
Methodist Episcopal	65	66	64
Presbyterian U. S. A.	66	66	66
Protestant Episcopal	71	72	70
30 Other Bodies	62	67	59
All denominations	64	67	61

* Including North and South.
† Including ten synods.

SUMMARY

Church progress does correspond with social trends in all types of territory, in all sectors, and in all denominations, with comparatively slight variations. On the whole, two churches out of three exhibit this correspondence. Whatever way the figures are analyzed and compared, analysis and comparison cumulatively confirm the hypothesis with which this study started and which common observation would lead one to set up. Churches in areas of unfavorable social change are usually affected unfavorably by the social trends in their environment; churches in areas of favorable social change are able normally to capitalize the favorable social trends in their environment.

As go the fortunes of the people, so go the fortunes of the churches. In other words, Like Environment, Like Church.

In spite of all geographical and denominational differences this rule holds. It is true, though not equally true, of all types of area, of all sectors and of all denominations. The fewer people, the fewer churches, or the smaller the churches. Often with fewer people in areas being denuded of their population churches grow both fewer and smaller. So though the number of people remains the same or even increases, if the sort of people now occupying an urban territory is increasingly Roman Catholic, Negro or Jewish, the fortunes of white Protestant churches inevitably decline. The result is similar if the economic status of the residents of a district is growing less and less satisfactory. With smaller incomes it takes more people to maintain the same level of church work. This means again that the churches must be more meagerly staffed, and that their programs must be less ambitious, or that there must be fewer churches. If human needs increase, the field for service grows greater, but the resources for meeting the need diminish. What was a territory that supported strong, large and numerous churches becomes a territory requiring the services of churches which must meet a keener need with resources supplied for the most part from outside. Such a situation results almost automatically in the reduction both in size and in number of churches.

At the other extreme the change is similarly automatic. As scores of families pour into new residential areas the fact that new churches are organized, or old ones re-locate in the neighborhood to which their people have moved, and that most of the churches, whether new or old, grow by leaps and bounds, often at the expense of the more centrally located churches, is a matter of common observation. As a function of the life of its people the fortunes of the church are inevitably bound up with the fortunes of its people.

Nevertheless, the correspondence between church progress and social change is not complete. There are churches

with E rankings in the best territory, there are churches with A rankings in the worst territory. Statistical analysis confirms the tentative assumption with which this study started; it also reënforces the suspicion that there is more to the story than has yet been told. The rule of correspondence between church progress and social change has been strikingly confirmed, and is even more significant than initial expectation believed it to be; yet some churches possess an exceptional ability to resist unfavorable environmental change, while others show relatively little power to capitalize favorable social trends in their neighborhoods. What are the reasons for the ability of some churches to transcend the downward pull of their immediate environment, and the inability of others to flourish under even the most favorable circumstances? Why are some churches able to lift themselves above their surroundings? Why do some churches fail to respond to good environment?

The overwhelming power of social determinism in the progress and development of the churches in American cities is by no means an unmitigated misfortune. It is working for the churches just as much as against them.

Nor does this tremendous power of their social environment exercise any fatalistic control over the destiny of the churches. Some churches have failed to progress even with the advantage of the powerful upward pull of their surroundings. Other churches have grown and developed in spite of what seems the insurmountable obstacle of the downward pull of the social forces of their environment. Is there something within the churches themselves that accounts for this difference?

It is in the analysis of the exceptions to the rule that the final understanding of the problem is sought. It is in the study of the variant churches that the constructive aspects of meeting this basic problem of the city church with a real strategy emerge. To this study of variant churches and the significance with which they are fraught the chapters which follow now turn.

VARIANT CHURCHES AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

The discussion up to this point has provided a basis on which exceptional churches, which do not conform to the rule of correspondence between church progress and social change, can be isolated and their characteristics examined. The present chapter explains how these exceptional churches were statistically identified, tells how their characteristics were analyzed in detail, and presents a few case studies of exceptional churches illustrative of relative failure in spite of environmental advantage or of conspicuous success in spite of neighborhood adversity. The facts here set forth indicate in what respect the fortunes of some churches have been superior to those of their environments, and of others inferior, and suggest some of the elements which later discussion will show to be subject to some measure of control. Because of the complexity of the data only the most general results are here set forth. The reader will find additional statistical details in the appendices.

DETERMINING VARIANT CHURCHES

SUB-MODALITY AND SUPER-MODALITY

Churches whose rankings differ most widely from characteristic rankings in each type of territory are termed variants. As Chapter IV has shown, it is characteristic of the churches associated with the best territory to exhibit the best rates of progress. This is what the average or modal church does. It is equally characteristic of churches

occupying the poorest territory to show poorest rates of progress. To be a variant in better territory a church must make little or no progress. To be a variant in poorer territory a church must make considerable or great progress. Variants in better territory are consequently sub-modal, that is to say, below the characteristic rate of progress. Variants in poorer territory are super-modal, or above the characteristic rate of progress. In either case the church is moving in a different direction from the social trends in the environment. In the nature of the case churches here defined as sub-modal are always located in better territory, and churches defined as super-modal are always located in poorer territory.

ISOLATING THE VARIANT CHURCHES

How poor does the progress of a church have to be to make it a sub-modal church? How good does the progress of a church have to be to make it a super-modal church? The answer to these questions is determined by the exact statistical method chosen. Without perplexing the reader with statistical detail[1] it may be here simply stated that variant churches are those whose rankings differ most widely from those most frequent rankings in each type of territory listed in Table XV.

The variants thus isolated by purely statistical methods number 100 sub-modal churches and 147 super-modal, or a total of 247 out of the nearly 2,000 churches studied. A comparison of these 247 churches with urban churches in general should indicate the distinguishing characteristics of those showing exceptional lack of progress on the one hand, and of those making exceptional progress on the other.

Because only those churches are termed variants that involve a direction of church progress contrary to the direction of social change, this study makes no analysis of suc-

---

[1] For the exact statistical method by which variants were isolated see Appendix A, Note 5. Cf. also Note 5 in Chapter IV, p. 99.

cessful churches in good territory or of churches failing to progress in poor territory.[2]

Variant churches are found in all types of territory, in all sectors and in all denominations. Churches do surmount unfavorable circumstances, resist unfavorable social trends, stem the tide of social change; churches do lag behind favorable opportunities, fail to capitalize favoring trends in their environment, do not succeed in keeping up with the improvement in their neighborhoods. This is true not here and there, with regard only to some denominations, but to a greater or less degree everywhere among all types of Protestants.

Characteristic Deviations from Average Churches

When a church is radically out of line with the social trends in its environment—whether such a church is lagging behind in the midst of favorable social change, and consequently emerges as sub-modal, or is forging ahead in the face of unfavorable social trends, and consequently emerges as super-modal—it is natural to assume that there may be at work in it strong forces tending to neutralize environmental conditions. Analysis of the characteristics of all the churches studied should show wherein sub-modal and super-modal churches are different, as compared with average churches and with one another.

THE SCHEDULE

For the purposes of this analysis a check list of "Factors Affecting Church Progress" was devised, based in the main upon past studies of the Institute in the urban field but supplemented by special experimentation at the beginning of this study. In all, 207 items descriptive of conditions or situations in city churches were listed, most of them in the form of specific statements, the truth of which was to

[2] See Appendix A, Note 5, for the distribution of variant churches by types of territory, by sectors, and by major denominations.

be checked.[3] These items were classified under the following eight main heads:

(1) Composition and Character of Community as Related to Church.
(2) Characteristics of Constituency.
(3) Church as Related to Community Structure.
(4) Church as Related to Social Process.
(5) Institutional Characteristics.
(6) Program and Equipment.
(7) Internal Attitudes and Relationships.
(8) Ecclesiastical and External Relationships.

In general the use of the schedule made it possible to give a more detailed picture of the life of the church with a minimum of effort. For example, under the head of Community Structure a church was asked whether its location was strategic, or accessible to its constituents; whether physical barriers limited or divided its parish; whether it had relocated within a decade, and if so, what features of the older community it sought to avoid and what features of the new community it sought in making the change, and to what extent the move was successful in attaining these objectives. Under the head of social progress the schedule sought to learn whether the youth of the constituency showed new attitudes and whether the church has been able to keep pace with them. From the standpoint of institutional characteristics the schedule naturally reckoned with professional leadership, property, finances and program. Internal relationships (squabbles, scandals and schisms on the one hand, and loyalty, unanimity and cohesiveness on the other) were revealed, as were attitudes with regard to theology and polity from the more strictly ecclesiastical angle. Thus by the aid of this schedule nearly everything which can happen to a church could be accounted for. Comments, written into blank spaces provided for "remarks," furnished a record of exceptional facts and rela-

---

[3] For the complete text of this schedule see Appendix B.

tionships. The subjective element in having the schedule filled out by the pastors was minimized by the objective manner in which the items were stated and classified, and because in practically all cases the facts were objectively ascertainable. The examination of the schedules, in the light of the field investigations quite independently conducted, furnishes adequate assurance that the schedules were filled out with a high degree of accuracy.[4]

Most of the items were such as to require no technical knowledge of social trends or unusual familiarity with the facts of the particular situation. For example, every pastor can reasonably be expected to know the number of members and type of constituents in his parish, their general location, the program of activities conducted by the church, and the general attitudes of the people. The exceptional minister who frankly stated in writing, "I am quite ignorant of the majority of the questions you ask," had either failed to examine the schedule carefully or else was unusually ill-informed as to the life of his parish.

The response, from city to city, varied from approximately 30 per cent. to approximately 60 per cent. Schedules were received from more than half the churches ranked, and from more than three-fifths of the variant churches. The sampling appeared to the field workers entirely adequate both as to number and distribution, whether geographical, denominational or as to type of church. The

---

[4] In general, in the small proportion of instances where the replies were found by the checking process to be clearly incorrect, it was found that while the attitude of ministers toward their own churches may be warped by false perspectives and subjective judgments, as regards their communities ministers do not so much give wrong answers as they fail to understand the nature of the environing conditions in the midst of which they are endeavoring to do effective work. This is sometimes due to the brief tenure of their office, sometimes to a certain lack of inquisitiveness as regards matters which to such minds seem irrelevant. Where the testimony of the pastors clearly required editing, due allowance has been made for intention even as over against overt statements clearly refuted by internal evidence known to be correct, submitted elsewhere in the schedule; and in the handling of the testimony only the most relevant material has been utilized at the various points of the discussion. Whatever subjectivity may have inevitably crept into the replies to the schedules, the data secured are sufficiently objective to be overwhelmingly clear in their main verdict.

reader will not be surprised to note that schedules were received from a somewhat higher percentage of super-modal than of sub-modal churches. Practically a thousand (994) schedules were received and tabulated for the 1,970 churches whose progress was classified. Fifty-four of these were from sub-modal churches, and 112 from super-modal churches. Aside from the fact that a pastor of a super-modal church is naturally more willing, and perhaps more competent, to factorize the progress of his church than the pastor of a sub-modal church, there is a higher percentage of sub-modal churches without pastors.

Supplementary information of great value was obtained through interviews and correspondence with church administrators, denominational and interdenominational, and informed laymen.

The schedule serves to connect the general social data and the statistics of each church by analyzing the particular points at which it has been affected by social trends in the environment. An analysis is provided of the attitudes, organization, personnel and program of the church as an explanation of its progress. The schedules as a whole do reveal differences between variant and average churches.

AVERAGE CHURCHES IN TWO TYPES OF TERRITORY

When the characteristics of exceptional churches are compared and contrasted with those of average churches[5] the unique elements in sub-modal and in super-modal churches become evident. However, the differences between average churches in better territory and average churches in poorer territory are so great as to make it necessary to compare exceptional city churches not with city churches in general but only with those that are similarly located. A general average of all city churches ignores the marked difference

---

[5] "Average" as here used means the average of all churches including variants. If variant and non-variant churches had been contrasted the differences would frequently have been much more marked than those between variant and average churches.

between average churches in better and in poorer territory. Average churches in the two types of territory were therefore first compared with reference to items showing a decided difference in the percentage of churches reporting them, and the testimony of the ministers was found to confirm the social data set forth in Chapter II and to show the relative advantage of better territory and the relative adversity of poorer.[6]   What field analysis found the environment of the churches to be, their pastors declare that it is.   Many of the characteristics of variant churches are characteristic of all churches similarly located.[7]

Chief Elements of Weakness and Strength in Variant Churches

Besides the data gathered from schedules additional information of a comparable nature was available concerning a number of variant churches.[8]   In all it was possible to analyze objectively the elements of weakness or strength in 216, or nearly seven-eighths, of the 247 variants.

The detailed items of variance discovered in the analysis of the schedules group themselves naturally by reason of their similarity.   When each variant church is studied by itself, and sub-modal and super-modal churches are examined in the light of those characteristics that most frequently recur, the grouping of items is even more definitely suggested.   The result of further analysis of variant churches on the basis of chief factors of variance, a number of which consist of detailed items grouped together under a common heading, is shown in Table XVIII.   Chapter VI discusses each of the items in this table in detail.

---

[6] Table 1, Appendix B, gives the percentages on each item.
[7] Appendix B, Tables 2 and 3.
[8] Having discovered in the data furnished by the schedules the main elements of weakness in sub-modal churches and of strength in super-modal churches, the field workers found it possible through personal knowledge, conference and correspondence with denominational and interdenominational leaders, and the use of published data and unpublished studies, to identify the chief factors of variance in these additional churches with reasonable precision.

TABLE XVIII—FREQUENCY OF CHIEF FACTORS OF VARIANCE IN SUB-MODAL
AND SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES

FACTORS OF VARIANCE	FREQUENCY AMONG 82 SUB-MODAL CHURCHES	
	Number of Churches	Per Cent. of Churches
Border Territory or "Pocket"	3	4
Revision of Rolls	5	6
Poor Location or Equipment, or both	8	10
Meager Program	11	13
Recently Moved to New Neighborhood	13	16
Inadequate Size	17	21
Lack of Lay Leadership	18	22
Inadequate Paid Leadership	24	29
Lack of Financial Resources	24	29
Competition	27	33
Lack of Group Solidarity	31	38
Lack of Adaptability	42	51

	FREQUENCY AMONG 134 SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES	
Border Territory	2	1
Absolute Increase Too Small to be Significant	12	9
No Competition	33	25
Exceptional Lay Leadership	56	42
Prestige	58	43
Exceptional Financial Resources	58	43
Program Varied or Intense	61	46
Excellent Location, New Equipment, or both	97	72
Exceptional Paid Leadership	99	74
Exceptional Group Solidarity	107	80
Adaptability	118	88

Sub-modal and super-modal churches are distributed according to the number of factors of variance reported by each church, as shown in Table XIX. The small number of weaknesses exhibited in sub-modal churches is in striking contrast to the large number of elements of strength exhibited in super-modal churches. This numerical contrast is as striking as the contrast between particular elements of weakness and strength.

The sharpness of this double contrast may be most vividly illustrated by the presentation of brief case studies of variant churches chosen solely for this purpose. Case 1 is a sub-modal church, Cases 2 to 5 are super-modal.

TABLE XIX—DISTRIBUTION OF VARIANT CHURCHES ACCORDING TO NUMBER
OF CHIEF FACTORS OF VARIANCE

82 Sub-Modal Churches		134 Super-Modal Churches
19	One Factor	5
24	Two Factors	7
17	Three Factors	14
12	Four Factors	20
5	Five Factors	25
3	Six Factors	23
2	Seven Factors	29
0	Eight Factors	5
0	Nine Factors	6

Average number of factors per sub-modal church, 2.7; per super-modal church, 5.2. Most frequent number of factors among sub-modal churches, 2; among super-modal churches, 7.

A TYPICAL SUB-MODAL CHURCH

Case 1—The Little Church, Conservative in Language and Theology, Whatever the Cost in Numbers

A German United Brethren church, located in one of the best districts of a medium-sized city, has now become too small for urban conditions. Ten years ago it was danger-ously small, but its numbers are now depleted to the point where, barring decided change in its situation or in its method of meeting the situation, or both, its future is dubious. Ranking E E E as to its progress on the three indices during the last decade[9] this church lost 63 per cent. of its membership and 77 per cent. of its Sunday-school enrollment; it reduced its total expenditures 70 per cent. It is now a parish of only eighty members, at least 85 per cent. of whom live within a mile of the building. The Sunday school enrolls only eight-five. The constituency is made up of a type of people not increasing in the neighborhood. The old-timers are averse to change. The pastor had been in the ministry more than fifty years at the time this church was studied, and had served the church most of the decade. Organized in 1870, its building erected in 1883, this church is a distinctly fundamentalist enterprise. Its program is con-fined to a few traditional activities.

The English United Brethren churches in the same city

---

[9] See Chapter III, page 79.

have made A progress as to church-membership in recent years; the German churches E progress. In this same city a German Methodist church so successfully performed the feat of generalizing its ministry that it showed substantial progress on all three indices. This German United Brethren church has preferred loyalty to the ancient way of doing things to increase in numbers. Failing in adaptability, its handicap of small size has grown worse rather than better.

In this instance the most frequent phase of sub-modality, lack of adaptability, is clearly illustrated. Such a case suggests also that group solidarity may become a vice instead of a virtue, if it is carried to the point of exclusiveness. Many cases could be cited where the apparent reasons for sub-modality lie as close to the surface. While it is rarely one factor alone which can be said to account for sub-modality, and while this study pretends to do no more than to point out the presence of certain characteristics in variant churches, the practical churchman would doubtless be correct in his assumption that characteristics frequently present in sub-modal churches are characteristics for churches to avoid if they can contrive to do so.

SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES

Turning from sub-modal to super-modal churches, detailed analysis of the latter at once reveals that they are of two main sorts, those with scattered parishes and neighborhood churches. Super-modal churches with scattered parishes belong not to any one neighborhood but to the whole city, or to some large section of it. This is true not merely in the sense that the whole city is proud of them, but also in that their members come long distances to share in the work and worship of such churches. This study started out on the assumption that most white Protestant parishes are fairly compact. Wherever more than half of the members of a church live more than a mile from its building such a church is regarded as having a relatively scattered parish.[10] Parishes of this kind occur more than

---

[10] For a statistical analysis of the geographical distribution of church-membership in different types of territory, see Appendix B, Table 4.

three times as frequently among average churches in poorer territory as among average churches in better territory, and are more than four times as frequent among super-modal as among sub-modal churches.

CHURCHES WITH SCATTERED PARISHES

Eighteen super-modal churches with scattered parishes were statistically analyzed as a group. During the last three years of the decade studied these eighteen churches averaged nearly 1,600 members; each spent upwards of $75,000 a year. In spite of the fact that several of their Sunday schools were small, two of them enrolling fewer than a hundred, their average enrollment was more than a thousand.

All of these eighteen churches reported from one to four items indicative of adaptability, from one to three items indicating group solidarity, exceptional pastoral leadership either as to quality or as to both quality and size of staff, a good location or a new building or both within the last decade, and prestige. Only four of the eighteen failed to report a varied program. Only five failed to report exceptional lay leadership. Six gave no evidence of special financial resources, but five reported two phases of exceptional financial strength. Four out of the eighteen definitely state that they face no competition. Averaging 7.3 major items of variance, these churches report an average of 11.7 detailed items of exceptional strength.

Continuous leadership of high quality was characteristically present. On the average the pastors of these scattered parishes were men of more than a quarter of a century of experience, and in spite of the fact that a number of them were just getting started in their new work, the eighteen averaged more than eleven years of residence in their present pastorates. Six of them had been in residence fourteen years or more, one of them thirty-five years. Only one lacked both college and seminary training.

These churches averaged twenty-seven program and

equipment items, or half of the total number listed in the schedule.

All of these churches are of huge size, and are among the largest white Protestant churches. Eight of the eighteen have more than 2,000 members, two of the eight more than 3,000. The enrollment of four of the Sunday schools exceeds 2,000 and in the case of two of them is more than 3,000. While three of the eighteen churches lost in Sunday-school enrollment during the decade, all of them increased their expenditures.

Churches having less than half of their membership living within a mile of their buildings usually accept only a minor responsibility for their neighborhoods. Such churches are not confined to any one denomination or type of city. The eighteen are located in eleven cities and belong to eight different denominations. They represent all shades of theological emphasis, all types of polity, widely differing types of worship, large denominations and small denominations. They are typically urban enterprises attracting a selective type of constituent.[11]

Churches with scattered parishes are of various sorts. Some of them are city-wide enterprises located at or near the absolute heart of the city. Others occupy a similar position with reference to some sub-center, and draw chiefly from some one large section of the city. Other super-modal churches with scattered parishes, located neither at a chief center nor at a sub-center, nevertheless attract members from the entire city or a considerable portion of it. The literature of the urban church has dealt with all three types rather fully.

---

[11] The fact that a centrally located church draws its membership from a considerable distance does not necessarily mean that in the midst of lack of privilege it is serving only the privileged. Churches in central areas naturally attract constituents from those areas of deterioration which are sometimes thrust out some distance from the heart of the city and are often without a type of churching to attract many of their residents. In the city the social quality of a church is as much determined by accessibility as by contiguity. Converging transportation lines make the church at the point "where cross the crowded ways of life" just as near in minutes to the young person living miles away in a rooming-house as the church within walking distance.

(1) *City-Wide Churches*

Eleven of the eighteen churches studied as a group are city-wide enterprises, located at the absolute heart of their respective cities.[12]

One of these eleven churches is a downtown Baptist church with a modern type of building, a somewhat theatrical appeal, and a mildly sensational young leader. Another is a Congregational church, formerly associated with a German denomination, located at the very heart of a great industrial city, with none of its members living anywhere near it. A third church is a fundamentalist Baptist enterprise of great size, led by a nationally famous pastor of long standing, located at the heart of a city that has a vast hinterland. Not far from it is a Unitarian church, not so large but also of the city-wide super-modal type. While these two churches make almost no effort to render a neighborhood ministry, their influence extends over several states. In another city an endowed Baptist church, which does a large work for aliens, and a Unitarian church are also located near together and are alike super-modal and city-wide. From the farthest corners of a small city members attend four downtown super-modal churches, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist and Presbyterian.

The eleventh church is a famous Presbyterian church

---

[12] On one occasion during the field work connected with this study it was tentatively assumed, subject to verification, "that the city church belongs to, reflects and is influenced by the fortunes of the people with whom it is most closely identified within the city environment; and that this relationship generally determines the progress or decline of churches." This statement of the rule of correspondence between church progress and social change is broad enough to apply both to the relationship between the neighborhood church and its immediate environment and to that between the city-wide church and its widely scattered constituency. When churches cease to have constituents in their immediate environment, the social change thus evidenced has forced them to send their roots farther and farther into an expanding environment. This wider rootage is partly a matter of seeking support from their own fellowship in areas undergoing favorable rather than unfavorable social change. As a neighborhood church is the institutional expression of the religion of at least a fraction of a neighborhood, so an interest group church is the institutional expression of the religion of at least a fraction of the total community. These city-wide churches have recognized what Miss McClenahan calls (*op. cit.*, p. 110) "the decreasing significance of the local area as a basis for personal associations and the substitution of that of specialized interest."

located near the absolute heart of one of the greatest cities. Adjoining a section still maintaining itself as a residential center, though now given over increasingly to huge apartment houses, this sturdy church is rendering large service in a very unobtrusive way. Once led by a famous minister, it now attracts less attention, but is also the subject of less controversy. Its super-modal quality includes at least four items besides numerical growth: access of strength through merger, fine leadership, hard work by professional and volunteer leaders, and exceptional financial resources.

What is most striking about such a group of churches is not the variety included but the well-known churches omitted. Those familiar with the great churches of America could name quickly a dozen or a score of centrally located churches known throughout the nation, none of which would be included in this list of super-modal churches located at the heart of the city. Such famous churches are great churches, but they are not super-modal churches. They may be historic, wealthy and of vast size; but they are now only holding their own, or even slipping back.

City-wide churches do not always have even a sub-center location. Sometimes they attract people from all sections of a city by the sheer merit of their program and the mass of their enterprise. Such a case is that of an ably led liberal Baptist church in a smaller city, with one-half of one per cent. of its members living within half a mile, only 2 per cent. within a mile, and the rest of its nearly 3,000 members scattered throughout a considerable urban and suburban area. In another instance a strong Disciples church is somewhat removed from the center of a medium-sized city, on the edge of poor territory in a situation increasingly difficult. This church meets the occasion by a variety of program devices and able leadership. Its size— it has more than 2,000 members—helps it to succeed.

Any reasonably accessible location is satisfactory for a church that has a distinctive constituency. For example, in one medium-sized city one of the super-modal churches

is the Church of the New Jerusalem. This serves a city-wide constituency of Swedenborgians, and while not a large enterprise, made much better progress during the decade than its environment did.

(2) *Sub-Center Churches*

When scattered churches are located at a sub-center they may be for one large section of the city what the still more centrally located churches are for the entire urban area. Case 2 is of this sort.

Case 2—The Church Noted for its Human Helpfulness

Near an important sub-center in one of the larger cities is a Disciples church whose immediate neighborhood, once the center of fashionable residence, is now a relatively difficult one in which to conduct church work. The turn-over of the very transient population is exceptionally rapid. Next door is a particularly garish dance hall. This church, in which a beloved leader has long ministered, has the reputation of being primarily interested in people, just ordinary people who happen to come into contact with its work. It gives the visitor precisely that impression. By a service of worship not exceptional in its appointments, it contrives somehow to put the whole meaning of life, which for many of its people has been humdrum enough, under the aspect of eternity.

Not quite a city-wide church, in the fullest sense, but much more than a neighborhood parish, this case illustrates the evolution of the neighborhood parish in conformity with the effects of urbanization upon all city institutions.[13] North and east, where most of its members live, there is a natural constituency for such a church; south almost none. Westward lies the heart of the city from which few journey outward to attend church. The immediate vicinity is by no means homogeneous in racial or social quality. Here home-ownership is low, light housekeeping rooms and rooming-

[13] Cf. Douglass, *1 000 City Churches,* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926), p. 86: "The virtual certainty that the city would impress its own forms and characteristics upon an institution would probably be taken for granted in any other case than that of the church. All the city's human institutions are involved in the urbanizing process."

house are frequent, and even "permanent" residents live in apartment houses. The congregation has been made up of a mixture of middle-class people, wage-earners, students and teachers, together with a few people of larger means. On the whole it has been institutionally somewhat conservative.

An A B A church, this congregation increased its average membership of 1,146 for the three-year period at the beginning of the decade to an average membership of 2,028 for the three-year period at the end of the decade, an increase of nearly 77 per cent. Its Sunday school increased its enrollment by nearly 28 per cent. Its expenditures nearly quadrupled, and expenditures per capita increased from $16.54 to $36.49 during the decade.

The success of this enterprise is largely due to the generous giving of the many. A church of a little over 2,000 members, in 1928 it had 876 separate pledges amounting to nearly $40,000 for its unified budget. A third of the contributors gave 25 cents a week or less, and nearly another third from 26 cents to 50 cents. Pledges of 51 cents to a dollar were made by 155 people, and nearly a hundred gave from $1.05 to $2.00 a week. The group giving from $2.05 to $3.00 a week numbered only twenty-nine and only thirty-two individuals gave more than $3.00 a week. These last thirty-two, however, provided nearly a third of the budget. An endowment approaching $150,000 and loose offerings add substantially to the income.

The church has had many lay leaders of both sexes, who have been an important factor in denominational as well as in parish affairs. It has built up a remarkable group morale. Less than 10 per cent. of its members come from other denominations.[14] Six years out of the ten it had been the highest giver to the national benevolences of its communion, and the last year of the decade its gifts had exceeded those of the nearest denominational competitor by nearly 50 per cent.

Located near churches of other denominations, this church

---

[14] In better territory the average church receives 10 per cent. of its members from other denominations, in below-average territory 20 per cent., and in worst territory 25 per cent. In residential neighborhoods people are likely to join the convenient church. Sub-modal churches in above average territory are not able to attract as many people from other denominations as are average churches, but in the best territory they attract more.

has so unique a ministry that it feels little competition. Likewise the other, less vigorous enterprises of its own fellowship, several of which are located in its general territory, are in no sense able to compete with it. They feel its competition, but it does not feel theirs. However, a group of able givers in this congregation recently organized a new church in the best residential section of the city farther east, and in years to come this new church will undoubtedly attract many who have hitherto attended the church at the sub-center. Of 225 members in the new enterprise, 150 were a "swarm" from the older congregation. Unable to erect the desired religious education building, this church has found its building needs somewhat altered by the organization of the new congregation to whose charter membership it made so large a contribution.

Located in a below-average district near better territory this church has been able to draw its members from far afield. In recent years the whole character of its neighborhood has changed. The sort of people that it has attracted is not increasing, and its best leadership is moving away from the vicinity, if it has not already done so. Perhaps 10 per cent. of the members live within a mile. Because its denomination has no church at the heart of the city this church can probably survive as the nearest substitute for a city-wide church now possible for this communion.

The pastor of this church has been with it thirty years, and the executive minister eighteen. A director of religious education and two secretaries have been a factor in the more recent success of the enterprise.

What particularly distinguishes this case is not unusual variety of program or distinctive theological emphasis but an exceptional atmosphere and the continuous service both of the pastor and of the executive minister over a long period of years. The church has now acquired a size, position and momentum that are among its best assets.

(3) *Churches Near Sub-Centers*

Sometimes a church with a widely scattered constituency in some one general section of a city is not even located at a marked sub-center, but may be near one, or at a focal

point readily accessible by main routes of transportation leading to the heart of the city. Such churches may be at or near the first, second, third, fourth or even more distant circumferences of crosstown traffic.

Cases 3 and 4 are both located in the same city, one near the second intersection of radial and circular traffic, the other near the fourth.

Case 3—A Denominational Rearguard at the Edge of the City Wilderness

On the border between an above-average district and one of the worst in a city of nearly a million inhabitants stands the building of a great Presbyterian church. With a membership of nearly 1,400, three-fifths of whom come from homes located within a mile, and a Sunday school of 600, this church almost doubled both its membership and its Sunday school during the last decade. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that the section of the city which it adjoins was growing steadily less favorable to church growth during the ten years. Not homogeneous in the quality of its population, the immediate neighborhood still furnished a constituency for this church, which is strongly entrenching itself for the future. It has accumulated an endowment of several hundred thousand dollars and since the close of the decade studied has built a new education building. Well located at a point in a corridor of traffic where access from more residential sections will continue to be easy for years to come, it now serves a community where home-ownership still remains more than average. Its membership is made up of wealthy, middle-class and academic types. Support comes from a large number of givers. It uses publicity, and feels that the type of people to whom it has characteristically ministered is increasing. It employs an assistant minister, a secretary, a financial secretary, visitors and a young people's worker.

Such a church has naturally acquired a vigorous morale. Ranking A B E, it far outranks any church in either of the districts between which it is located. Its program is one of variety and strength. Its pastor, a man of a quarter of

a century of experience, had spent fourteen years with this church at the close of the decade. Ten per cent. of its accessions by letter come from other denominations. It is the outstanding Presbyterian church in the city.

In 1926, 29 per cent. of the families within a mile of this church occupied single-family residences, and 44 per cent. flats, while 17 per cent. lived in apartments. Sixty per cent. of these people paid very high rents. The area of deterioration is moving toward this church and its location is bound to grow progressively less favorable. Five other Protestant churches are more centrally located than this one, one or two of them with very precarious futures. This is the most central Presbyterian church in the city, with a location, an equipment, a tradition and resources which give it an unequalled opportunity to stand its ground for many years to come. It is located on the border of a considerable area from which all Protestant churches have already moved. Established in 1838, its place of worship erected in 1900, this church is rounding out its first century in great vigor.

Case 4—The City Church on Its Fourth Site

Located in the same city as Case 3, but two boulevards farther out from the downtown center, a strong Baptist church, somewhat recently removed from its third site, is now located just within the city limits at the far edge of below-average territory on the border of that best territory from which it draws half of its constituents. There has been a well-established residential trend in this city along a single radius, served by convenient transportation. In successive moves this church has changed its site in accordance with the westward progress of its members. The present location is at approximately the center of the constituency's residence, although in a distinctly more downtown district than the area in which many of the members live. Were this church a few hundred yards to the west it would be in a district in which it would emerge statistically as an average rather than a super-modal church.

The district in which this church is located has the highest standard of living within the city proper. Beyond it lie suburban neighborhoods still better. Dependency and

juvenile delinquency are here the lowest in the sector. Nevertheless, when measured by all the social trends combined, the district is below average in this sector.

The immediate neighborhood is a pocket, bounded on the north by a business street and industry along a railroad, and on the south by a large park. The railroad, running southeast, seriously divides the territory just east of the church. The large expanse of park seriously limits the parish to the south, although a score of members attend from south of the park. This has been the last great Baptist church to the west. Here a militant denomination has maintained a well-organized and united outpost on the best border of a great city. Beyond it have been only remote suburban churches of essentially the village type. While approximately half of the membership has come from east of the church along a narrow Protestant white American corridor, the other half has come from a wide westward arc, most of them from no great distance. Fifteen per cent. of the membership lives within half a mile, perhaps 40 per cent. within a mile. It is neither a widely scattered nor a strictly neighborhood church, and the geography of its parish does not shift much from year to year.

Growing slowly as to church-membership, this church has shown a Sunday-school increase far ahead of any other church in its territory. In this it shows the effect of the suburbs which it so closely adjoins. It received 75 per cent. of its accessions in 1928-9 by letter; the previous year, 76 per cent. Normally the percentage of non-Baptists does not reach 5 per cent. During the last year studied sixty-two letters were received and only fourteen given. A third of those received by letter came from other churches in the city, the others from nineteen different states.

The interest of the constituents of this church in the enterprise is primarily religious rather than social. While the church-night dinner is used as a nucleus for a midweek fellowship program, the people find most of their human fellowship elsewhere. On the other hand, the church has the advantage of social prestige. Its characteristic leadership comes from the upper levels of society. Middle-class people make up half or more of its membership, but they

represent for the most part the higher salaried group. Only a small percentage of the congregation are wage-earners.

The constituency is close-knit. Exceptional unanimity and loyalty prevail. The tradition of closed communion, while limiting its outreach, has helped to keep the church a unit. Its women's work is almost wholly in the hands of members of the church. In the men's class forty-five out of the seventy-five attending at the time of the study were members of the church. The young people were said to have unusual ability, reverence and loyalty; but the church felt some competition from a nearby university. More than a hundred young people from eighteen to twenty-five years of age were enrolled in the young people's department. More than 10 per cent. of the membership is under twenty-five years of age and more than half of it between twenty-six and fifty. Not more than 5 per cent. is over sixty. Largely because of a considerable number of childless families, the parish has a small number of children of its own. When children attending the Sunday school, but belonging to families not members of this congregation, reach the church-joining age, they join the church of which their parents are members, even though it be at some distance.

The expenses of the Sunday school are met by the regular church budget. The cost of the school, exclusive of heat, light and janitor service, but including the salary of the director of religious education, is nearly seven dollars per pupil per year. Music costs this church as much as religious education. Eighty-seven per cent. of those enrolled in the school are members of the church. Because of the increasing summer slump, during a twelve-month period in 1928-1929 the average attendance of the school had decreased to 54 per cent.

Four serious losses by death and the proposal that a new Baptist church be organized in a western suburb have warned this church as to its changing status. It is in the path of increasing Jewish population, which is migrating westward in the wake of white Protestants. The situation is one of increasing difficulty. The percentage of Protestants is decreasing. Apartment houses have become prevalent even at this great distance from the heart of the city.

To such changes as have occurred within its increasing constituency, which has remained pretty much of the same type throughout its history, the church has adapted itself well, partly by the device of following its people to new neighborhoods. It has not been able to adapt itself so well to the new elements that have moved into its neighborhood, and which are more and more likely to change the fundamental character of the immediate environment.

Benevolences of this church have run as high as 55 per cent. of its total expenditures, but dropped to 13 per cent. during the erection of a new educational building which brought the total property value to $300,000. At the time of the study one-fourth of the receipts were set aside for benevolences, and there were in addition occasional large gifts, such as a special contribution of $1,000 to foreign missions. In other ways as well as financially the missionary work of the church has been outstanding.

Nearly $30,000 was pledged for 1930 by 242 givers. A fourth of these pledged $15 a year or less, a fifth from $18 to $39 a year. Sixty-six pledges ranged from $45 to $96, forty-six from $100 to $260, and twenty-three from $300 to $2,000. The last group contributed more than half of the total amount. These figures are in striking contrast to those cited in Case 2, and this church is only a third as large. There is hardly a family in this church that does not own a car.

Any competition with nearby churches is of a normal, friendly character, as all the churches in this section are described as neighborly and working in unity. Denominational relations have also been cordial, and have been especially intimate among the young people.

While it has connections with both liberal and conservative groups this church is on the whole a conservative and denominational enterprise. The program is as varied as the situation demands. The fact that the church has gone steadily forward up to this time is due primarily to its location in the midstream of the outward flow of the most American and Protestant population in the city. Inside and outside testimony agree as to this. Exceptionally able leaders have employed able paid leadership. The future

development of the city has been anticipated and expected changes capitalized. This church has been conspicuously faithful to its constituents. Its best publicity has been the enthusiasm of its members.

Neighborhood Churches

Cases 2, 3 and 4 have illustrated the fact that large numbers of super-modal churches, located at or near urban centers or sub-centers, are able in spite of the lack of a central location to render a conspicuous ministry to a city-wide constituency or to a whole section of an urban area. Not all super-modal churches serve such scattered constituencies. Some super-modal churches are distinctly neighborhood affairs. More than 50 per cent. of super-modal churches have half of their members or more within a mile of their buildings, and more than 30 per cent. of super-modal churches have compact parishes, that is, with 75 per cent. or more of their members living within a mile. Case 5 is an example of the super-modal church of the strictly neighborhood type that has managed to succeed rather brilliantly even in the midst of adversity.

Case 5—A Church Lives Where Others Died

In one of the least promising of the "worst" districts of one of the greatest cities a Congregational Mission was founded in 1891. Its building, entirely inadequate, and its independent organization, date from 1893. In a district in which six churches have died and from which ten have moved, this church, which had earlier talked of disbanding, during the last ten years gained 220 per cent. in membership and more than doubled its Sunday school. It spent more than six times as much at the close of the period as at the outset. This was A B B progress for the decade. The church finds 75 per cent. of its members within half a mile. Physical barriers limit the parish somewhat. Chief of these are rivers and a broad railway right-of-way which serves as a boundary a few blocks east of the church. "To

the north are docks, and scattered along the margins and in the community itself are several small factories." [15]

This church, which has now attained a membership of 400 with a Sunday school half that size, averaged only $500 in home-mission aid for the decade. It has no competition, for its only near neighbor is a Missouri Synod Lutheran church. At once conservative and liberal, utilizing publicity methods and the services of a part-time visitor, this church has built up a real morale. Its plant is inadequate, so is its staff; but it has made progress. Ninety-five per cent. of its members received by letter have come from other denominations. "A consistently effective and forward-moving program is characteristic of this church." Average Sunday attendance for a recent year was 334. A young people's vested choir numbered sixty-five voices. Monthly attendance at week-day activities ran as high as 2,568. The church "continues to be crowded with young life and needs a new and adequate building," reads a recent denominational report.

Behind this relative success lies a long story of "changing population problems which the Protestant churches have not been able or which they have not sought to meet." This district has "served as a port of entry for Irish, German, Swedish, Austrian, Polish, Lithuanian, Croatian and Italian. As these groups have become Americanized and skilled some of their members have moved on to more desirable neighborhoods. . . . Dwindling churches caused a rapid change of pastors, many of them students who failed to identify themselves with the community and thus develop a contact with the people. . . . Lack of denominational missionary foresight and lack of interdenominational coöperation have made for waste and ineffectiveness and losses in membership and property."

Why has this one church been able to stand by, and to make headway?

The answer is to be found, first, in the personality of the

[15] For much of the material in the description of this case the Institute is indebted to Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe. An article of his in *The Chicago Theological Seminary Register,* March, 1932, and an unpublished student survey, made under his direction and that of Prof. Arthur E. Holt, are quoted by permission.

pastor, who grew up in the church. He is "a man of the community and a man who knows his people. He speaks against no church or group, does not dictate as to personal practices, and is always on the job." Before him there had been sixteen pastors in twenty-six years. When he began his pastorate "the church building was sadly in need of repairs. The roof leaked, many of the windows were boarded up and the church auditorium was used as a gymnasium and roller-skating rink. The preaching services were held in the rear room, which was heated by a big hot-blast stove that smoked most of the time. The room on the second floor had been condemned and was a convenient dumping place for all sorts of rubbish, broken chairs, and empty paint cans."

The pastor "has a reputation for so many things and for doing them so well that one wonders if it is possible for any human being to be or do so much, or if he has been made into a local hero who, like all great men, has a sort of legendary and mythical character. He is a popular leader in the sense that the tide of approval has turned his way. He has a reputation for preaching, for helping the young, the distressed, the sick, the aged, for unusual leadership with boys, for being 'at the church all the time.' He is known as one who quickly and quietly helps any human being in trouble. He is thought of as a saint—a priest, a prophet, a leader. The 'office' of pastor has meaning in this community and he adds to its significance. The fact that the present minister has been the pastor of this church for twelve years, and worked in the church many years before that, has had a cumulative effect upon the place of the church in the community. He gives others the praise for the success of the church, but everyone else attributes the success to the pastor. He has been a symbol of religion in the community and has dramatized the meaning of the church for his neighborhood. He not only integrates the various groups but is the medium by which the spirit and the tradition of the institution is passed on from age-group to age-group. Many ministers do good and much of it, but the point here made is not that this minister does good, but that the good he does is recognized and this recognition

has survival value for the institution. Since the pastor has lived in the area a long time and knows many people who are not in the church and has a reputation in his community, he is in a position to take advantage of any breaks that may come his way."

A second answer is found in the fact that this church "provides a message and worship adapted to its community. The complete transformation of the old auditorium by the local people, themselves, into a place of unusual beauty and fitness for worship enables the church services to appeal to people of European traditions. The robed minister and choirs, the processional, the chancel, the music, the warm devotional service, the ritual, the celebration of great days, give the spirit and atmosphere of a religious institution. In spite of all the social service and activites of the institution it maintains the character of a church." The use of the confirmation method of receiving members has been attractive to Lutherans and others accustomed to it.

Economically "the church-membership is homogeneous, for practically all are of the semi-skilled and skilled workingmen's groups. All thus have about the same interests and satisfactions in life." Moreover, this church "has achieved a community church spirit and an attitude of all-inclusiveness. It did not plan to become a community church in the beginning. It is not a union or federated church. It has not changed its name to include the word 'community.' In a very real sense, however, it is a community church for the Protestant population. . . . The death and removal of other churches have given this church a right of way. Since the Protestant population is small and the area is not predisposed to Protestantism, and since the area is not in a sector which is feeding it like-minded members, church competition would have been fatal. The church has become a local community church by right of survival, by right of its ability to outlive other groups and be the 'holding committee' for the Protestants of the area. Its complete identification with the local community and the assumption of responsibility for the religious guidance of any who come give it a clear charter for taking the name 'community church' if it cared to do so."

"The principle of all-inclusiveness has permitted this church to make gains whenever any church has moved or died." In it are families formerly members of a nearby Methodist church. It "also has members of the Evangelical Synod Church, which has moved out. There are ex-Catholic, ex-Lutheran, ex-Episcopalian families in the church. No church is preached against. The minister understands and appreciates more than one culture in an area in which there are many distinct traditions and cultures. This has great significance for the worship and work, for support and the community attack."

An additional reason why this church has been able to survive is that "it was located in the neighborhood where there was a settlement of English-speaking people and the most American part of the entire larger community. Some of this English-speaking element of the community has remained, in spite of the coming of many different nationality and language groups. The parish area is the most cosmopolitan part of the larger community. It is a little region which is marginal to the other more solidly foreign surrounding territory. The community has not been solidly Polish Catholic, Italian, Croatian, or Lithuanian. There have been population possibilities for the growth of the church, which is located in the most Protestant part of the community." Here some middle-class and wage-earning people still own their own homes.

Further, this is the only English-speaking church for eighteen blocks. It is always open. It is interested in children. "The social rooms are bright, cheery and home-like. Boys can come in at any time, talk and joke with the pastor, meet with their pals, play games, checkers, read, turn on the radio or rough and tumble in the gymnasium and other rooms. Dirty-faced ragged urchins are as much at home as any of the rest. No admission charges are made to any church functions and only free will offerings are taken at entertainments. . . . The exceptional girls' club work . . . is one of the largest factors in the success of this church."

Finally, this church has had a "sense of responsibility." The fact that the expenses have been kept down has given

the local group power to keep the organization in its own control. This is in part due to the fact that the minister and the church visitor and all the other employed people have been willing to work for small salaries. The economic homogeneity of the church and community and the absence of any large givers have fostered a spirit of democracy of control and a sense of the importance of the small gift. This may have its bearing on the fact that almost invariably the people testify that this is a friendly church where they feel at home. There has been financial assistance by the denomination but the church has not come to lean upon it. The psychological effect of paying its own bills has given the church a sense of responsibility for the conduct of the work. The fact that the organization could not afford to pay for a great deal of help has kept a spirit of volunteer work alive. The example of the minister in accepting a salary less than he could secure elsewhere has had its effect upon giving, and his complete devotion to the work has made people willing to assist in whatever ways they are able.

The outstanding element in this situation is of course the pastor. On the other hand there has been no mysterious unfactorable magic about his leadership. He himself is a product of the parish life. He understands its needs, he has adapted his leadership to the demands of the situation. Adequate leadership in this case has meant vigor of program. Adaptability has been symbolized by the whole spirit of the pastor's approach to his task.

Extended description of this case has been given because it is so genuine an instance of super-modality in a situation where a city-wide ministry would probably be quite impossible. The bonafide neighborhood ministry rendered by this church has made it succeed in spite of adversity that had killed other churches or driven them away.

This church reports only six of the nine elements of strength most frequently found among super-modal churches. It illustrates, however, the general rule that only massed strength makes churches super-modal. In spite of the obvious importance of the exceptionally able minister, a competent analysis of this situation, extending over

several years, concludes with the judgment, "It would be easy to say that this church succeeds because of its leadership but it must be recognized that no simple explanation in terms of one or two causal factors is justifiable." Inhibited by its very location from being a city-wide parish, this church incidentally demonstrates that a denomination which frequently runs away to the suburbs can succeed in difficult urban territory.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how variant churches were defined and isolated, and how sub-modal and super-modal variants were compared and contrasted with average churches and with each other. The chief elements of weakness and strength found in variant churches have been isolated, and a few concrete cases of sub-modality and super-modality have been described to show the chief contrast between the laggard church weak at a few points and the superlatively strong church exhibiting numerous elements of strength. In Chapter VI the chief elements of weakness and of strength will be taken up one by one and discussed from the standpoint of actual churches in which they have been found to be present.

Chapter VI

SUB-MODAL FAILURE, SUPER-MODAL SUCCESS

Chapter V explained statistically and in terms of a few concrete cases the outstanding differences between churches that fail in the midst of advantage and churches that succeed in the midst of adversity. This chapter provides further specific analysis of those elements of sub-modality and of super-modality that constitute relative failure or success.

Because of the complexity of the data, and because each church exhibits from one to nine major factors of variance, several of which may involve a number of detailed items, it is neither possible nor desirable to keep the different phases of variance entirely separate. Their many inextricable combinations in actual churches make it appropriate that description and analysis should involve a constant interweaving of the elements of strength and weakness in the individual church.

The method of this chapter will be to take up the main headings common to both sub-modal and super-modal churches in Table XVIII, state the facts as to each type of variant, sometimes comparing the two, and offer such deductions as may grow out of the data themselves as to how elements of weakness have been avoided and elements of strength acquired. This will involve not only a consideration of what the local church can do to better its situation, but also the assistance which may be rendered it by denominational and interdenominational agencies. Some elements of weakness under certain circumstances become elements of strength, and some elements of strength can reach the point where they become weaknesses. The pre-

cise forms of weakness and strength are frequently not exact opposites, but only correlatives treated together for the sake of convenience.

Size and Growth

sub-modal churches small and growing smaller

It is not the present size of churches that determines success or failure. What counts is whether size is increasing or decreasing. At the beginning of the decade studied the churches that made super-modal progress during the decade were smaller than the churches that made sub-modal progress. The same was true of their Sunday schools. At the end of the decade sub-modal churches averaged only half as large as super-modal churches. There was almost the same difference in the size of their Sunday schools.

Many sub-modal churches have become too small to cope with the urban situation even at its best. A church of fewer than a hundred members in a great city rarely amounts to much save from the standpoint of a courageous minority, but few groups of this size are distinguished by prophetic courage. On the contrary, they are usually impotent in the face of community inertia. They not only do little to bring in the Kingdom of God; they themselves have been unable to grow, even with the aid of favorable social forces. Just as successful business requires a certain amount of volume, so churches must ordinarily reach a certain size before they can function constructively.

Because the small church lacks numbers and leadership it is in serious danger of losing the little that it has; often its best members and leadership are literally added to those churches that already have men and money in abundance, besides location, equipment, prestige, and strength of variety of program. Larger size usually means better leaders, and good leadership accumulates more and more organizational assets.

SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES INCREASING IN SIZE AND STRENGTH

Sub-modal churches ranged in membership from 17 to 1,910 at the close of the decade. The average was 325, as compared with 404 at the beginning of the decade, a decrease of 19.6 per cent. Super-modal churches ranged in membership from 39 to 3,684 at the close of the decade. The average was 623, as compared with 340 at the beginning of the decade, an increase of 83.2 per cent. Sunday schools in sub-modal churches showed an enrollment ranging from 14 to 1,405 at the end of the decade, with an average of 227 as compared with 298 at the beginning of the decade, a decrease of 23.8 per cent. Sunday schools in super-modal churches ranged from 37 to 3,297, with an average of 426 as compared with 254 ten years earlier, an increase of 67.7 per cent. These figures are visualized in Charts XIII and XV.

It is of course evident that churches may grow so large that super-modality, as defined in this study, in terms of percentage of increase, becomes impossible, or even undesirable. For example, in one of the most rapidly growing cities the outstanding church in one of the strongest denominations reported only D D E progress during the decade. Strength of numbers is, however, clearly a factor contributing to success.[1] Group loyalty is on the average easier to create and maintain where there is a certain mass. Some super-modal churches acquire a momentum that produces almost automatic success as compared with the discouragement incident to the small numbers of some sub-modal churches. While nobody would maintain that mere increase in size is an adequate index of church progress, it is equally true that few churches can claim that their failure to grow

---

[1] One of the important phases of Roman Catholic generalship in the urban situation is the larger size of its parishes. Methodist churches are likely to be larger than Congregational churches, and Roman Catholic churches larger than Protestant. When varying degrees of Protestant efficiency are matched with the authoritative Roman Catholic policy, and Protestant competitiveness is added to the lack of central authority, the price which Protestantism pays for freedom becomes very great.

is due to their superior spiritual quality. For churches as for colleges and other institutions there is doubtless an optimum size, which will vary according to the particular circumstances of a given institution.

LEGEND

———— Super-Modal Church Membership
——— Super-Modal S. S. Enrollment
– – – – Sub-Modal Church Membership
- - - - Sub-Modal S. S. Enrollment

700

623

600

500

426

404

400

325

340

300

298

254

227

200

100

0

Beginning of Decade
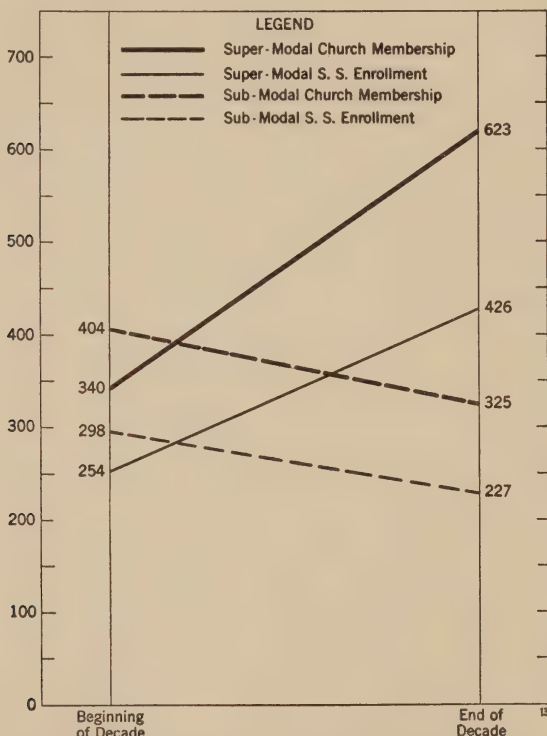
End of Decade

CHART XIII—Average membership and Sunday-school enrollment of sub-modal and of super-modal churches at the beginning and at the end of the decade

ACQUIRING ADEQUATE SIZE

A little church need not stay small if it has vigor and is located where it can grow. On the other hand, because a church is fairly large there is no assurance that it will not grow smaller. While size is tied up with many other fac-

tors, the data gathered in this study and the experience of the denominations suggest that a new enterprise ought not to start until it has enough people to assure success under the particular circumstances. Especially is this true of the church that belongs to a denomination not strong in the general region. The size of the necessary nucleus will vary with time and place, and with the caliber and resources of the people involved, but usually the group should be of such size as to make denominational leaders confident of its success.

If an older enterprise is involved, the problem is not altogether different. The very first question with reference to a church that needs revitalizing, wherever located, is necessarily: How many people can be counted on to help carry the load? If the answer is satisfactory, then the question of size gives way to the consideration of other problems. If the answer is unsatisfactory, it may be necessary to combine units in order to provide sufficient mass. Sometimes even a church of considerable size is not large enough to meet the demands of a particular situation.

Recently two relatively strong churches of two of the leading denominations effected a merger. Both of these churches had hundreds of members. They were located in one of the best residential areas of one of the greatest cities. Yet neither of them had quite the mass to overcome its inner weaknesses, and the increasing external difficulties. A merger bids fair to make a single enterprise competent to deal with a characteristic urban situation. Either alone, though of considerable size, was "too small."

There is a low point beyond which most churches cannot go without forfeiting their chance to live. This is especially true when the particular constituency of which a church has been made up is shrinking. A struggling foreign-language congregation in one of the major denominations in an industrial suburb of one of the greatest cities finds its numbers reduced, its Sunday school only half the size of

the church, its lay leadership almost at the vanishing point. Apparently the only way this language group can be held for the church is to absorb it into a more generalized congregation. This will not be easy, but the alternative seems to be extinction.

A little church in a neighborhood where there was no competition and a real opportunity secured a part-time pastor who was able to make people forget certain past infelicities. Despite the obvious limitations of a part-time ministry, this arrangement made the best of a situation financially meager because the numbers were few. In this case, because the need was a neighborhood one, no merger was possible.

In general, this study has found the church of fewer than a hundred members at the end of a decade clearly too small, especially where the situation is complicated by acute competition, conspicuous lack of adaptability or other severe handicap; but there are circumstances when even so meager an enterprise may be a good investment. Sometimes all that is needed to make a small group grow is to put adequate resources behind it.[2]

Prestige

Prestige, a quality which attaches to churches with historic, social or denominational status, is sometimes an asset, sometimes a liability. It is found alike in sub-modal and in super-modal churches, and may be a significant phase of either type of variance. Its chief significance, however, is to be found in connection with those other factors of variance which it accompanies. To discuss the various combinations of which this element forms a part would be to attach to it greater significance than it merits; to omit it entirely would be to assign it less importance than it deserves.

---

[2] The membership rolls of five sub-modal churches were revised midway in the decade. Twelve super-modal churches were found to be so small that their absolute increase was without statistical significance.

Lay Leadership

OFTEN LACKING IN SUB-MODAL CHURCHES

A far higher percentage of sub-modal churches than of average churches reports a definite lack of lay leadership. This lack is frequently, though by no means always, one phase of inadequate size, and is rarely found among the handicaps of the large church. Only good lay leadership attracts its kind. Even areas of social advance may not contain the kind of people who make good leadership for the church. Incoming population, in so far as it has been active in church life, may retain its earlier affiliation elsewhere under persistent pressure from more centrally located churches. Where there is a conspicuous lack of lay leadership churches find themselves particularly subject to the variety of difficulties which beset sub-modal churches.

Lack of lay leadership may be an effect of internal strife; or it may be a cause of it. Sometimes when loyalty has been broken down through quarrels, disastrous failure in Christian conduct, or factionalism of a serious sort, the blame is clearly the minister's. In other cases it is not at all to be laid at his door. Often the difficulty is within the lay leadership itself, as was found in some of the sub-modal churches where one or more lay leaders were too dominant. Naturally, too, the most competent pastor will be unable to discover lay leadership if the timber for it is not there.

EXCEPTIONAL LEADERSHIP IN SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES

In more than two super-modal churches out of five lay leadership is a significant factor. It is especially important where the immediate neighborhood furnishes no volunteer personnel whatever. Super-modal churches report exceptional lay leadership almost twice as frequently as do average churches similarly located, and twice as often as sub-modal churches. They have retained lay leadership which in many instances might have preferred, on the basis of personal interests, to remove to some church of the same

denomination more favorably and more conveniently located. Sometimes the super-modal church knows how to release to the full those energies possessed by laymen, themselves successful or unsuccessful, who find satisfaction in partnership in a successful and worth-while enterprise. The rare super-modal church that advances without exceptional lay leadership achieves a success all the more noteworthy.

ENLISTING LAY STRENGTH

The capacity of church-members for leadership is even more important than their numbers. A small church with good lay leaders may have a better prospect than a large church without such personal assets. When lay leadership is meager good material can be trained; if there are too few leaders their numbers can be supplemented from outside.

There is considerable evidence that many otherwise effective ministers are weak in discovering promising material for lay leadership. The minister who is his own Sunday-school superintendent at the end of six years in a good-sized church is not as exceptional in his inability to develop lay personnel as one might wish. Often pastors otherwise less brilliant achieve outstanding success by reason of their ability to discover and develop lay leadership. If the material available is of limited caliber, so much the more are training processes essential so that it may be developed to its utmost capacity. This is a subject that might well receive more adequate consideration in the training of candidates for the ministry. While it will tax the patience and skill of the average pastor to the limit, no effort on his part is likely to be more rewarding than the attempt to build a democratic fellowship of capable lay members.

Where honest search and competent counsel agree that adequate materials for lay leadership are not present in the constituency of the church or in its neighborhood, the problem becomes one of transfer or transport. Here the local church must be assisted. A group of leaders still affili-

ated with a more centrally located church can greatly strengthen the church in the neighborhood where they now live.   Likewise a group now connected with a strong residential church, by maintaining at least an affiliate relationship with their former downtown church, can greatly hearten its workers.   There is increasing reason to question why resourceful individuals should confine their activities to one congregation.

PAID PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

Both in popular opinion and in that of experienced church administrators it is the relative inadequacy of pastoral leadership or its exceptional quality which most largely explains sub-modality or super-modality.

INADEQUATE LEADERSHIP IN SUB-MODAL CHURCHES

Sub-modal churches frequently experience a lack of adequate paid leadership that is serious and determinative. However, only one sub-modal church reports inadequate pastoral leadership as its sole weakness, and four other aspects of sub-modality are more frequent than lack of adequate paid leadership.

If a church is small, even under favorable circumstances it must be well led, or it is not likely to grow.   If a church is obliged to compete with a strong neighbor, exceptionally well led, poor leadership will not do.   If a church lacks lay leaders, pastoral leadership must be all the better.   If there is schism in a church, its pastor must be all the more capable.   A situation changing from country-side to a suburban residential neighborhood is the last place in the world to expect a part-time pastorate to be successful.   Sub-modal churches require able pastoral leadership if they are to be pulled up.   Incipient sub-modality suggests the need of an exceptional minister.   Acute sub-modality was found in the very situations that most evidently required, but lacked, strong ministerial leadership.   If the church has a right to

live at all, and its opportunity is feeble, so much the more does it need able leadership.

The nature of any pastoral inadequacy needs to be analyzed. Was it some flagrant indiscretion, some egregious blunder, some conspicuous shortcoming, or was it merely a general incapacity to do the impossible? Pastoral inadequacy varies all the way from an inability to take a very difficult and meager situation in hand and make it progressive to one in which the minister has himself been the cause of schism. At the one extreme the minister's failure has been merely his inability to afford adequate leadership in a very difficult situation; at the other extreme he has been the chief cause of the church's failure to progress.

STRONG LEADERSHIP IN SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES

Three super-modal churches out of four report that the quality of their ministerial leadership has affected their condition.

While there is no evidence that good professional leadership can always pull a church up out of the slough of despond, the frequency with which variant churches report exceptionally good or exceptionally poor paid professional leadership indicates that no church is likely to make headway against unusual difficulties without exceptional paid professional leadership somehow, sometime.

STAFF SERVICE

As is commonly known, centrally located churches are the best staffed.[3] Average churches in poorer territory, which includes the more central districts, employ 2.32 staff persons (including part-time workers without discount for their fractional labors), whereas average churches in better territory employ only 1.74 persons. Variant churches do not differ significantly from average churches as to the amount of staff service employed. Super-modal churches

[3] For details of staff services available in average and in variant churches in better and in poorer territory, see Appendix B, Table 5.

employ 2.24 staff members and sub-modal churches 1.37, on the average.

EXPERIENCE AND TENURE OF MINISTERS

The pastors of sub-modal and of super-modal churches have spent much the same length of time in the ministry, but the former are relative newcomers on their present fields, while the latter have long been at work in one spot, so that their labors have acquired vigorous momentum. The pastor of the median sub-modal church has been in the ministry twenty years, the pastor of the median super-modal church twenty-two years.

While the average tenure of pastors of sub-modal churches is not excessively short, some very brief pastorates do occur. In general, super-modal churches retain their pastors twice as long as sub-modal churches. The term most frequently reported by pastors of sub-modal churches was one year, by pastors of super-modal churches ten years. While the average pastorate in sub-modal churches had lasted five years at the time of the field study, two-thirds of the pastors of sub-modal churches had served less than five years; and as many pastors of sub-modal churches had been in their pastorates less than three years as had served longer than that. Nearly a fourth of the pastors of super-modal churches had served more than ten years.

TABLE XX—TENURE OF MINISTERS IN SUB-MODAL AND IN SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES CONTRASTED

Length of Present Pastorate	SUB-MODAL CHURCHES		SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES	
	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
Under Five Years	30	67	34	37
Five to Ten Years	8	18	38	40
Over Ten Years	7	15	22	23
		100		100
No Report	37		40	
Total	82		134	

It may take a decade for a minister, however able, to make his leadership a permanently significant factor in the progress of a church. One super-modal church had employed the same executive secretary for a dozen years. Pastorates of less than five years are usually not long enough to transform sub-modal churches into modal enterprises. On the other hand, when a minister, to quote from a field-worker's notes, is "an elderly and on the whole a rather ineffective leader, who considers it his task to remain with the church until it dies," the chances are good that it will die soon.

LIMITS OF MINISTERIAL INFLUENCE

A church of great size cannot really serve its people or its community unless it employs a staff of sufficient size and versatility to face the increasing complexity of human need in the urban community. The larger the staff the more capable must some member of it be as chief of staff. The professional ability of the able minister must express itself in generalized administrative competence, for his functions in the urban church are of no mean proportions; and even if these are delegated, he must know how and what to delegate. It must also express itself in a wide variety of specialized functions. As preacher, teacher, pastor, and recruiter and director of lay leaders, the urban minister faces a task which varies from parish to parish, but is everywhere difficult.

The impossible must not be expected of ministerial leadership, whether by the people of the parish or by denominational leadership. The minister is not to blame for the conditions of declining opportunity in a deteriorating neighborhood, neither ought the minister whose pastorate fell in the heyday of the church's best fortune to be given the credit for those tides of social improvement which he rode to his professional success. Ministers do not make situations, they merely adjust their ministry to them.

A minister, a congregation, or even a denomination may indulge in self-congratulation over progress which is almost

automatic under the circumstances. On the other hand, a minister, a congregation or a denomination may be suffering genuine heartache over relative failure in a situation where success is almost impossible. This is not to provide an alibi for the unsuccessful or to diminish the glory of success. It is merely to put success and failure in the right light.[4]

On the other hand the data already submitted, both statistical and case materials, make it unmistakably plain that pastoral leadership is of the utmost importance. A handful of people cannot become a great church without a capable leader. A few more than a hundred people cannot achieve success in the midst of failure without an exceptional minister around whom to rally. While the minister cannot do the impossible he sometimes comes very close to doing it. The minister is not to blame for external disadvantage, but he can greatly aggravate it by his own inadequacies. An unworthy leader can quickly offset all external advantage.

EMPLOYING AND RETAINING ADEQUATE PASTORAL LEADERSHIP

The problem of getting the right man for the right place is often an acute one for local churches, especially for those whose members are not trained in matters of broad social analysis, and such churches need counsel as to what sort of leadership their specific situations require. This obviously means that not only the church itself should be analyzed but also its function and opportunity in the community

---

[4] The church which loses or gains in accordance with a rapidly increasing or rapidly decreasing population is merely riding the tide. New York City Protestantism maintains its membership at 8 per cent. of the total population. On the whole it holds its own. In Albany the church is growing more rapidly than the population. Cf. H. Paul Douglass, in the address quoted earlier in this volume: "Part of the time the city is on the church's side, institutionally speaking. Where a population of successful people is growing, where wealth is pouring in, where homes and other institutions are more than comfortable and even magnificent, there great and prosperous churches are being built up. Under such conditions a very dub can build a church, and it is no secret that very dubs have built great churches. Granted merely average industry, fair intelligence and capacity for leadership, and it is hard not to succeed because everything is in one's favor. This may account for a scant third of the city's churches. They are riding, full sail on, with the prosperous currents of the city's life."

and its proper relationship to other churches. The whole testimony of the data submitted in this study is to the effect that the social situation, particularly neighborhood needs and the requisite personnel, need much more accurate analysis than is often given to them. The choice of a pastor is vastly more than a matter of a trial sermon or even an analysis of his personality. The entire bent of the parish programs for a period of years may be involved. The primary consideration is fitness for the task of ministering to neighborhood or special group need. The lamentable condition of many sub-modal churches is *prima facie* evidence of their inability or unwillingness to understand the religious needs to which they ought to be ministering, or to avail themselves of the wider knowledge and judgment of denominational and interdenominational leaders well acquainted with the community and with the technique of city church planning.

The sources of ministerial supply are still largely denominational, and even among the least connectional bodies professional accrediting is chiefly a matter of denominational procedure. In fact, few churches care to employ pastoral leadership not connected with a reputable denomination. Counsel given to the local congregation by overhead administrators and associated churches, and the determinative power of subsidy granted or withheld, serve to reduce disappointments due to pastoral inadequacy and moral failure to a minimum.

Denominational overhead rightly requires of the local pastor certain reports of statistical fact and reasonable encouragement of official benevolences. He, in turn, may properly demand of the wider fellowship to which he belongs such technical assistance as it is capable of giving him. One suspects that the possibilities of sympathetic supervision have rarely been adequately glimpsed by denominational leaders, or the possibilities of shared technical counsel by interdenominational fellowship.

FINANCES

SUB-MODAL CHURCHES SOMETIMES FINANCIALLY WEAK

While far less determinative than might be supposed, lack of financial resources is an important phase of sub-modality. Reported in only one instance as the sole element of weakness, it does not affect sub-modal churches more often than average churches; but the average church needs additional financial resources only for much desired and needed expansion of activity and equipment, while the sub-modal church may lack the necessities of life itself. The otherwise inherently weak church must have unusual financial oversight, if not assistance, or it becomes sub-modal.

Frequently the financial difficulty of the sub-modal church is sheer inability on the part of the constituency of the church to support a work of the kind the church is endeavoring to carry on. This inability is often due primarily or solely to lack of numbers; sometimes the membership has suffered a marked decrease in wealth. Sometimes financial difficulty is due to misguided enthusiasm that has overtaxed available resources. A church can set out with high hopes to serve its entire community. It can undertake an ambitious building program. It may plan wisely, on the basis of heroism and self-sacrifice, except that it may not have allowed for sudden unemployment, bank failures or other unexpected circumstances. The result, with varying degrees of acuteness in specific situations, is inevitable reaction. Sometimes immature leadership is to blame. Sometimes the wisest and most experienced business counsel has been mistaken. Whatever the cause, for the time being the church has all that it can do to ride the storm. In spite of a vigorous start it has failed to make progress comparable with that of the community, and for the time being it is sub-modal. If it can remain solvent, it may eventually pull out. If the seeming vision of its leader turns out to have been merely visionary, it will only with

difficulty survive.   There is a thin line between financial courage and fool-hardiness, as many a sub-modal church would illustrate.   Financial difficulties of this sort are not uniquely characteristic of sub-modal churches; but the average church that has built beyond its means goes forward in spite of the handicap of debt, while the sub-modal church may find its mortgage foreclosed.

Sometimes, when a church ceases to seem like a profitable investment, denominational subsidy is cut off, and the church may cease to exist.   The sub-modal church, however, is not characteristically made up of poor people; it is more often middle-class than wage-earner.

Nor are all the wrong guesses in matters of finance made by local congregations.   Even the most astute denominational leadership may not know in advance what the future of a community is to be.   In such cases to venture any great sum in the form of a subsidy would be reckless; not to venture anything would mean to prevent progress.   Sometimes results are long delayed.   Sometimes the community is quite as much of a disappointment as the church.

By the end of the decade studied it had again become evident that organizational security is as difficult to maintain as individual security.   Some of the devices regarded as more or less miraculous in their income-producing powers have been a disappointment.   Church hotels and skyscraper churches may become a liability rather than a source of income.   Taxes may eat up reduced profits.   There is as yet no short cut to ready income.

SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES FREQUENTLY FINANCIALLY STRONG

As regards financial resources, in a little more than two cases out of five super-modal churches mention one or more of the following: (a) exceptionally large contributions from a few people; (b) unusual denominational assistance; (c) income from an endowment of $25,000 or more, or an equivalent in rentals from office buildings, apartments, tenements, or in ground leases—churches receive income from

the sale of gasoline at filling stations, they even profit by
the sale of cemetery lots; (d) marked increase in the value
of their church site or other property. Without such un-

CHART XIV—Average expenditures of sub-modal and
of super-modal churches at the beginning and at the
end of the decade

usual income many a great church could not maintain its
present scale of operations.

It might be supposed that super-modal churches would
be churches of the rich. While wealth is undoubtedly con-
centrated in certain centrally located churches, it is inter-

esting to observe that, contrary to the opinion of some, the wage-earner is dominant in a higher percentage of super-modal churches than is the middle-class type of church member.[5]
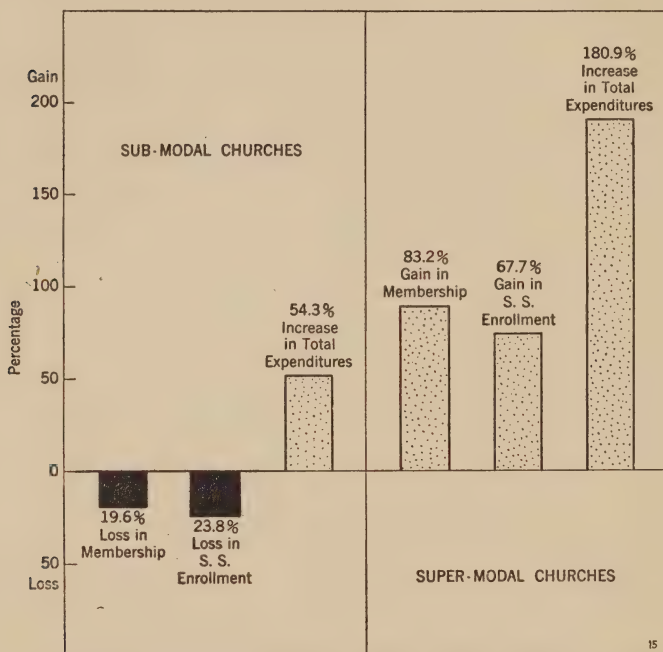
CHART XV—Percentage of increase or decrease on the three indices of church progress in sub-modal and in super-modal churches during the decade

INCREASE IN EXPENDITURES

Sub-modal churches ranged from less than a hundred to more than thirteen thousand dollars in expenditures at the end of the decade, increasing from an average of $8,557 to $13,200 during the ten years, or 54.3 per cent. In super-modal churches the range was from less than a thousand dollars to more than three hundred thousand, with an

[5] For a brief study of "The Economic Stratification of Urban Protestantism" see Appendix E.

increase from an average of $9,442 to $26,524, or 180.9 per cent.

These figures are visualized in Charts XIV and XV.

While the average sub-modal church found it necessary to spend half again as much at the close of the decade as at its outset, the average super-modal church had trebled its expenditures. The total expenditures of the two were close together at the beginning of the decade, but at the end of the decade the average super-modal church was spending twice as much as the average sub-modal church. While one super-modal church in eighteen spent less at the close of the decade than at the outset, one in six sub-modal churches did so.
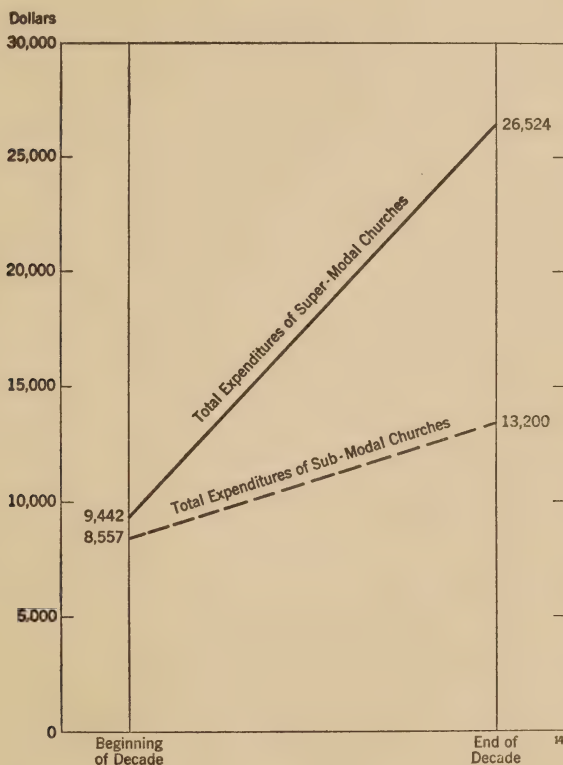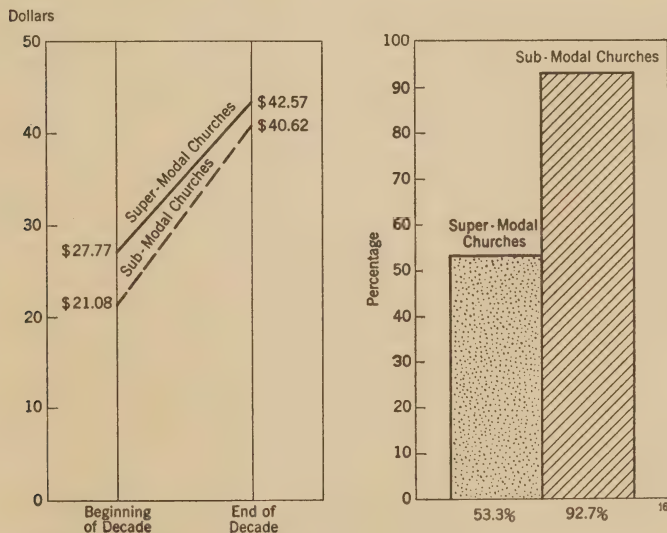

CHART XVI—Per capita expenditures of sub-modal and of super-modal churches at the beginning and at the end of the decade and percentage of increase in per capita expenditures

EXPENDITURES PER CAPITA

Among sub-modal churches the average expenditure per capita at the outset of the decade was $21.08. At the end

of the decade this had increased to $40.62, an increase of 92.7 per cent. Among super-modal churches average expenditures per capita increased from $27.77 per capita to $42.57, an increase of only 53.3 per cent. Thus, as previous Institute studies had indicated, unsuccessful churches cost the members practically as much and in some instances more than better churches. Moreover the per capita cost of unsuccessful churches mounts more rapidly than the cost of churches that succeed. When a church is going down hill, to keep the enterprise going at all, a diminishing number of church-members finds that per capita costs increase rather than decrease. Chart XVI visualizes these figures.

While the church that is failing in the midst of advantage costs practically as much per member as the church that is exceptionally successful in the midst of adversity, it is apparent that the amount which is contributed buys far less in the one case than in the other. A hundred members contributing forty dollars each per year provide only a four thousand dollar budget, a rather meager sum for an urban church. Two thousand members contributing at the same high rate provide eighty thousand dollars, a sum with which a considerable program can be financed in addition to an appropriate benevolence budget.[6]

SECURING ADEQUATE FINANCES

The data have made it plain that it is not always money that brings success, or the lack of it that causes failure. Nevertheless, adequate financial resources must somehow be secured, whatever the enterprise and whatever its location. Funds are obtainable from a variety of sources.

First, and most important, are the members themselves. Ordinarily the enterprise that wins no support from its own members, or a support less adequate than they are

---

[6] As a matter of fact costs per capita and contributions per capita are two quite different matters. In a year when expenditures are at a given rate, receipts may be at a far lower rate, as payments of capital amounts may have been met by loans. There are available no general statistics as to church receipts.

capable of providing, is a dubious investment for others. A church's budget and its size ordinarily correspond to one another, although the budget will naturally vary according to the resources of the constituency and the outside financial assistance available. If the congregation desires and needs only a simple parish program, the membership need not be large. If it desires and needs a complex and specialized program, the requisite budget will demand a large membership to support it.

If the membership is as large as it can be under all the circumstances and the income from this source is inadequate, and the church has a clear field of service in the neighborhood, the community itself can be asked to help support the church as a recognition of the church's service value in the community.

If, for any reason, this added resource is insufficient, there must then be an appeal for subsidy outside the immediate neighborhood. Financial assistance may be given to the church out of a central treasury as a denominational or interdenominational investment in an enterprise that may produce benevolent income in the long future. Or it may be contributed as a recognition of long service on the part of a church suffering from the decline of its environment, as a sort of pension for an enterprise that cannot long survive. On the other hand, subsidy can be provided, denominationally or interdenominationally, so as to equalize religious privilege throughout the city as far as possible. It is just as legitimate and might be just as profitable to subsidize churches ministering to particular interest groups as it is to subsidize churches ministering to particular neighborhoods.

Subsidy may be a cash appropriation or a loan out of current funds, a capital gift or a bequest. It can go into site, equipment, "income-producing property," or "securities." While an endowment or its equivalent has dangers and uncertainties more and more evident to all students of churches, educational institutions and philanthropic enter-

prises, under proper limitation and safeguards it possesses advantages still eagerly sought, chiefly because it usually makes possible a larger staff than would otherwise be the case.

Through its denominational treasuries Protestantism can and does control the flow of its resources. By granting or withholding funds the denomination can largely control the fate of many local churches, whatever their form of church government.

Even in the most democratically organized denominations, whose congregations are most autonomous, the local church is far less independent than is sometimes supposed. Churches which as a matter of theory insist on a polity that makes them the sole arbiters of their own destiny, are rarely loath to accept financial aid, which once accepted rightly involves the local church in a real sense of moral as well as financial obligation to its denomination. Even a second mortgage somewhat reduces the independence of a congregation.

COMPETITION

Over the increasingly complex problem of the urban church lies the shadow of the competitive spirit. Whether the church has set the pattern for society, or the economic order has set the pattern for ecclesiasticism, in either case ecclesiastical competition has been orthodox for many a decade in American Protestantism. The fact that it has not always been recognized, that it has been called by softer names, cannot obscure the reality of competition to the objective student.

At first examination the data do not seem to show that competition is any more of a handicap to sub-modal than to average or even super-modal churches. Only one sub-modal church reports competition as its sole handicap. One urban white Protestant church in three feels that it is competing with one or more churches of other denominations. Two churches in five report either interdenominational or

denominational competition. Sub-modal churches report competition within their own denomination in a higher proportion of cases (one in six) than do average churches similarly located, but competition in general only half as often as average churches.

FREQUENT AMONG SUB-MODAL CHURCHES

While the pastors of only 20 per cent. of the sub-modal churches report competition (denominational or interdenominational or both), examination of their individual situations in the light of the total churching of the areas in which these churches are located leads to the opinion that a third of the sub-modal churches are actually in competitive situations. At this point the testimony of the pastors is subjective, but in the opposite direction from what would be expected. The pastor judges competition in the light of the growth or decline of his church and of the propagation of a certain type of religion rather than from the standpoint of the adequate churching of the whole community. Average churches may also face more competition than they recognize or admit.

Even in areas undergoing favorable social change churches, particularly of the same denomination, were found at times to be so numerous as to deprive one another of an adequate constituency. In better territory the denominations within Protestantism sin against themselves quite as much as against each other. Two Methodist churches competing with each other in a suburb may both lose out to one strong Presbyterian church. Three Presbyterian Sunday schools in a good residential section made less progress than one strong Methodist school. Competing Lutheran synods, in a neighborhood actually overchurched because so many people attend church elsewhere, discovered that three or four Lutheran churches are too many when there is room for only one.

Average churches, making progress according to the favorable social trends in their environment, face normal

competition, though less frequently within their own de-
nominations; but they have vitality enough to overcome it.
Sub-modality, in one of its aspects, consists of an inability
to meet that competition which Protestantism has per-
mitted to occur even in the areas of its greatest opportunity.
This usual condition becomes unusually real and significant
to the sub-modal church. Competitive Protestantism has
made a socially favorable environment ecclesiastically un-
favorable. Interdenominational agreements protect sub-
modal churches less frequently than they do average
churches.

SOMETIMES NOT FELT BY SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES

Not only do super-modal churches report competition less
frequently than do average churches similarly located, but
one in four super-modal churches definitely states that it
faces no real competition of any sort. For example, in a
clear field nearly a mile square from which it draws 90 per
cent. of its members, in next to the worst district of one of
the smaller cities, a Methodist church, which got a good
start decades ago, nearly doubled its membership during
the last ten years.

Are super-modal churches inclined to minimize competi-
tion? On the contrary, super-modality expresses itself in
a characteristic ability to meet competition so successfully
that for super-modal churches competition almost ceases
to exist or serves as a stimulus. The church successful in
spite of unfavorable trends in its environment is one that
has adapted itself to the urban situation. It has discovered
in its vicinity or in the metropolitan area at large a definite
field of service. It finds itself capable of rendering the
service this field needs. The fact that neighbor churches
also have their fields of service is not felt to be an indication
of competition. Under certain circumstances a group of
churches may create a church atmosphere in a portion of
an extremely downtown area or in a sub-center which makes

the work of all the churches in the group somewhat easier. Contiguity of church location in the most central portion of a typical urban area, and in the more important sub-centers, does not necessarily constitute competition. Super-modal churches so located rarely think of their neighbors as competitors. They might even regard it as hurtful to themselves were any of these other church enterprises to be discontinued. What chiefly impresses all such churches is the vastness of the religious need of the total urban area and the inadequacy of the churches to minister to this need.

The First Presbyterian Church, for example, while not far from other places of worship at the heart of a great city, is in no sense their competitor, but is regarded by them as a worthy ally. In like manner it regards the other churches near it. Here there is intentional, complimentary adaptation. Wherever in a smaller city or at the sub-centers or absolute heart of a great metropolis, churches of different type find themselves close together, they are competitors with one another only as their different inter-pretations of religion compete for public favor. As insti-tutions they make life easier for one another rather than harder.

If super-modal churches feel any competition it is most likely to be with churches in residential areas naturally eager to secure the loyalty of individuals and families now resident near them but still associated with downtown churches. An adequate strategy will need to discover some fair principle or principles on the basis of which this con-flict for the allegiance of strong lay leaders can be settled.[7] This and other phases of competition are so important for church strategy that the subject recurs later in this chapter and is brought up for further discussion in the concluding chapter.

---

[7] "Only the most detailed and objective research can tell what is the best ratio between downtown and residential churches in a given city." Douglass, *The City's Church* (New York: Friendship Press, 1929), p. 218.

PROGRAM AND EQUIPMENT

In general, the weaker the sub-modal church the more meager its program. Sub-modal churches are likely not to report even the most frequent items of program and equipment. Nearly a score of the fifty-four scheduled items are found only rarely among sub-modal churches. Thirty-one items show substantially the same frequency in all churches.[8]

While super-modal churches average 20.6 items, as compared with 19.2 for average churches similarly located, and 17.0 for sub-modal churches, the range of difference between sub-modal churches with meager programs and super-modal churches with varied programs is much greater than the relatively slight difference between average might suggest.

While some churches conduct a meager program of activities in a weak manner, a relatively strong church may deliberately maintain only a limited number of activities and encourage its members to share in civic and social programs. Super-modal churches have strong programs whatever their extent. Lack of program may be due to lack of financial resources, but not necessarily so; and an exceptionally strong program may be due to exceptional financial resources, but not necessarily so.

Absence of adequate building equipment is reported by only a very small percentage of sub-modal churches. Nearly one super-modal church in three is enjoying the use of a new place of worship, a religious-education building or other significant addition erected within a decade. The increase in equipment often outruns the increase in equity,[9] and piles up debt.

Equipment too distinctly inferior, especially if it be poorly located, may handicap an enterprise so severely as

---

[8] For the frequency of the fifty-four items in average and in variant churches in better and in poorer territory, see Appendix B, Tables 6 and 7.

[9] The effect of exceptional equipmment available prior to the beginning of the decade studied may not be fully revealed in this study.

to suggest that, if resources for bettering the situation are not available, there can be no outstanding future for the church. Adequate building equipment for the task of the church located in territory making special demands can only be purchased and maintained if the resources of the local congregation or of the denomination or denominations involved are sufficient.

To build a new building is not enough. It must be manned and equipped. One church of a major denomination, located in average territory, attempted during the last decade to serve a neighborhood to which an adequate ministry can be rendered only by a church well equipped in terms of building and staff. During the decade studied this good-sized church lacked an adequate building. This need has now been met, but economic conditions still prevent the employment of an adequate staff. The morale of the enterprise is not strong enough, even with its new equipment, either to meet the needs of its immediate neighborhood, or to reach out along a longer radius and create a selective parish of its own. Incidentally the relatively small number of children in the neighborhood affects the nature of this church's program. In such instances equipment without staff is in danger of costing more than it is worth. It can even prove to be a liability.

Within the limits of resources of available men, money and skill, the church can control its own program. The accumulated experience of the denomination and of Protestantism at large can clearly supplement the more limited knowledge of the local congregation. Certain churches are profitably conducted as clinical demonstrations of specific types of ministry in the face of specialized needs.

Detailed analysis of the social forces at work in a particular neighborhood, especially of the factors of social change descriptive of social-welfare trends, is important as a basis of program building. For example, if the neighborhood were characterized by a high juvenile delinquency rate, a high dependency rate and a high infant mortality

rate, together with a high degree of transiency on the part of people living in most undesirable residential quarters, then the necessity for a social ministry of a type not so essential under other circumstances would be clearly indicated. The social need, however, would not constitute a requirement that the church itself should undertake a complex social ministry. It might prefer to coöperate with secular agencies in such matters. White Protestantism need not always make its social contribution through an enterprise built around a worshipping congregation.[10]

Size of constituency is not to be determined solely by the number of worshippers attracted by an enterprise, but rather by the number of those whose lives can be enriched by any sort of program properly undertaken by a church. While Protestantism cannot entirely neglect the needs of a very small minority of white Protestants for suitable places of worship within easy access, there would seem to be much greater possibility for including diversities of practice in a single edifice than has usually obtained in Protestantism. Why should not a single church building house, at various times and in different rooms, the worship of small groups of Ukrainians, Waldensians, Pentecostal Russians, Quakers, Baptists and Anglicans? There is a real sense in which such groups are so far apart as to make any attempt to impose a common worship on all of them as futile as it is undesirable.

On the other hand, if certain underprivileged neighborhoods are to be well churched, the units may need to be much larger than the traditional parish. This may mean the necessity of combining churches of the same denomination, mutual agreements as to territorial or neighborhood responsibilities, or even interdenominational churches. Good churching of a highly institutionalized type makes units of considerable size essential, and such units may

---

[10] Prof. Shenton goes so far as to say that in the recognition of the significance of new principles church life might be so reorganized that its "realignment might omit the present importance of edifices of worship." (From the address previously cited.)

need more rather than less assistance than the traditional parish church.

One of the greatest losses in membership was reported by a sub-modal church with only four program items. Unless a congregation be one of exceptionally active people, engaged in all sorts of worthy activities, so meager a program makes defeat almost certain. In general, a neighborhood church needs at least ten or a dozen program features if it is to build any group solidarity or real acquaintance. The mere effort to do more things may get the church nowhere. It is probably futile for the church in the good residential neighborhood to try "to fight fire with fire by matching the plethora of new outside clubs with new batteries of clubs inside the church." [11] Under such circumstances it is altogether likely that the church should specialize on specifically religious activities, and leave social and so-called secular interests to other agencies. Quite the opposite may be true in under-privileged neighborhoods.[12]

Location

A disadvantageous location in the case of sub-modal churches has to do chiefly with their relationship to their particular neighborhoods. Barriers that limit or divide the parish are reported by only one sub-modal church in a dozen, but are a serious handicap when they do occur.[13]

[11] Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1929), p. 399.
[12] Publicity is a factor skillfully used by a third of the super-modal churches. Under this item are included all forms of advertising, paid or unpaid, modest or sensational, which any church has regarded as beneficial. There is no evidence that sub-modal churches are actually sub-modal on account of lack of publicity. On the other hand, super-modal churches attribute a very real part in their relative success to a fitting publicity program. This has frequently come to be regarded as essential in the case of the centrally located church. (In Table XVIII publicity is included as a phase of program.)
[13] Two sub-modal churches turned out to be located in neighborhoods bordering areas of markedly different trends. They really belong to the adjoining districts where their constituencies are concentrated or by which their neighborhoods are affected, rather than to the districts within which they have been included because of their actual location. One of the two, a Congregational church, has finally surrendered the neighborhood to a Nazarene church and a mission of the Four-Square Gospel. The other, a Methodist parish, is seriously limited by barriers which entirely prevent it from acquiring the general character of the district of which statistically it forms a necessary part.
One sub-modal church is greatly affected by the social "pocket" in which it

Thirteen sub-modal churches have so recently moved to their present location that it is difficult to determine whether they are genuinely variant or not. Six churches gave no other hint of an explanation for their sub-modality than recent removal to a new location.

Inability to show anticipated gains in a new situation may be accentuated by failure to carry over the constituency associated with a former location, especially if the new location is as yet beyond the thickly settled districts. Sometimes a suburb turns out disappointingly; sometimes the future of a residential district is still equivocal. Sometimes the new situation proves to be much more competitive than was expected. A foreign group moving into a good residence neighborhood with the idea of becoming a typically English-speaking American church naturally finds it not easy to accomplish this transition. The fact that it has not yet done so in a number of instances is not proof that it will not be able to do so within a reasonable period.

Churches often feel it necessary to move to avoid the encroachment of business, increase of foreign or Negro population, or general depreciation of the neighborhood. Removal to a new location nearer the center of their constituency may prove profitable for a decade or a generation. Then the old problems are likely to recur.

Most Protestant churches, feeling that they must be within rather easy reach of the sort of people to whom they have traditionally ministered, move out when their people

is located. While in the midst of an area of generally favorable social change, the immediate vicinity of the church is becoming so largely Negro that survival of a white congregation is already made practically impossible.

Such instances further confirm the rule of correspondence between church progress and social change. Moreover detailed analysis of individual sub-modal churches makes it plain that when four or more elements of weakness are readily discernible in a church, the supplementary influence of a neighborhood slightly laggard is usually present. Such influences may not have been so clear as to have suggested the classification of the church as a border church, or as one located in a social pocket; but more intensive analysis of the church itself has revealed the more or less exceptional quality of its immediate neighborhood. Conversely a border church is one of the cases of sub-modality exhibiting seven elements of weakness.

Case 4 in Chapter V is an example of a super-modal church affected by border conditions. In other cases the influence of "good spots" is discovered to be a contributing factor in super-modality.

move out. When the neighborhood no longer furnishes them a constituency, no alternative occurs to them but to move or quit. In areas where the demand of space for business evicts human habitations, and the heart of the city finds itself with a diminishing population, the church must expect the inevitable removal of considerable numbers of its congregation from the absolute downtown center. In such cases the churches are not retreating. The people are retreating, and taking their churches with them—at least part way.[14]

Churches that re-locate in what will be the central business district ten years hence are one leap ahead of migrant business. If they make a new stand in such a location they occupy virtually the same position relative to the structure of the city that they held before their removal. They have simply moved uptown with retail business. This handles the churching of business areas very well, provided the method of such relocating is not too individualistic. Where churches are being forced to re-locate by circumstances be-

---

[14] Churches located in central districts now denuded of their population need not move; sometimes there is no place to which they can move without harm to other churches. Sometimes, where the location is not adapted to a city-wide ministry, the only alternative is to merge with some other congregation, or to die an honorable death. The latter is not always a tragedy or a disgrace. Schools are closed when there are no longer any children in the neighborhood. Nobody feels that this is a disgrace to education or a reflection upon the schools. Adequate understanding of the way in which the heart of every great city is losing population will somewhat alter the popular attitude toward the closing of ancient churches. Where there are no people, there need be no church. Moreover, "removal of churches that can neither prosper in view of changed conditions, nor adapt themselves to the change is no remedy, from the comity standpoint, when they move into already over-churched territory." Hallenbeck, *Minneapolis Churches and Their Comity Problems* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), p. 69.

Usually, however, there have not ceased to be people, there have merely ceased to be the sort of people that can continue the old sort of enterprise, or even desire to do so. The new people are different, and their churches must be different. It may even be that most of the white Protestant churches are doing not only the inevitable but the friendly thing by withdrawing. A white Protestant church is rarely adequate to minister to the religious needs of an incoming population of Roman Catholics, Jews or Negroes. This does not mean that every white Protestant church should abandon the field, but only that the evacuation of territory no longer occupied by the sort of people at home in white Protestant churches is not always cowardice. Sometimes it is a strategic retreat from a portion of a line which white Protestantism need no longer hold.

yond their control, they can gradually determine where their new location will be. To do this wisely they will need to take counsel with denominational and inter-denominational agencies familiar with the church strategy of the city as a whole.

Sometimes denominational withdrawal from a neighborhood is a frank confession that the sale of a church property to another organization is likely to result in better service to the community. Occasionally a church refuses to permit its building to be used by what it would call an inferior type of religious group, only to have it become an eyesore and a fire-trap, a temptation to marauders, and if its sign has been allowed to remain, a tragic advertisement of the inability of the particular denomination to minister to a needy population. When a "regular" church is turned over to an "irregular" body, from whom a precarious rental is received, the very name which the new congregation displays on its bulletin board is eloquent tribute to the inability of the more traditional denomination to minister to the religious needs of people of lower economic status and different emotional temper.

However, the historical conditioning of Protestant churches makes for lack of such interchangeability in areas of sharp depreciation. Direct, continuous utilization of Protestant church buildings for changing populations is not easy. The whole set of tradition is against it.[15]

---

[15] The Roman Church can easily shift one group of clergy to a different parish, and introduce into a given situation, where different nationals are now resident, a new group of ministers who speak the vernacular of the newcomers; thus institutional continuity is maintained and property is continually utilized. Protestantism adjusts itself less easily to such a situation.

The problem for the Roman Catholic Church is of course much simplified both by the use of the geographical parish and by the relatively large number of communicants in each congregation. For example, in the south sector of Chicago there were in 1925 only ninety-eight Roman Catholic churches, or an average of less than three for each of the thirty-four survey districts used in this study, although nine districts were more than half Roman Catholic. White Protestant churches were three times as numerous, or eight per district. Cf. The United Religious Survey in Chicago, as reported in *Federal Council Information Service*, Sept. 19, 1931, with reference to Roman Catholicism in Chicago: "The geographical parish is supplemented by racially adapted parishes which are expected ultimately to fade from the picture, leaving a carefully planned system of geographical parishes. . . .

Although a church that possesses sufficient vigor and financial resources can change its location, when a certain point of organizational debility is reached it may be hopelessly anchored to its accustomed site. Unaided it is helpless to move away. Thereafter it is a victim of its situation, no longer a free agent. Incapable of changing its base of operations, its only hope lies in accepting the handicap of poor location and making the most of it. A neighborhood ministry of unusual merit, so distinctive as to overcome the handicap of a disadvantageous location, sometimes proves that a move was not necessary.

In so far as it has meant the desertion of difficult neighborhoods by competent churchmen, and their abandonment to the irregular ministrations of ill-prepared, inadequately supported Protestant leadership, there has been something craven and tragic about removal as the only Protestant strategy in areas of deterioration. When a church has its eyes on the greenness of suburban pastures it is hard for it to take an actual count of the lambs still requiring a shepherd's care in a dilapidated urban neighborhood. However, an examination of the school enrollment of a district presumed to be overwhelmingly Negro or foreign frequently reveals that a third or a half of the total number of pupils are native white. In other words, areas invaded by alien elements are rarely swept as clean of the older types as is imagined. Should not more churches make a stand on their old sites? Should not more churches adapt their ministry to the changing social scene, generation after generation? Not every church can do this, but certainly Protestants can agree on some churches which should, and provide them with whatever resources are necessary.

Exceptionally favorable locations have unquestionably assisted centrally located churches in becoming supermodal. Two super-modal churches out of three report a good location. Four super-modal churches reported that

Can the Protestant churches by coöperative planning accomplish what the Roman Catholics accomplish by centralized administration?"

they had improved their locations during the decade. Church properties so centrally located as to be commercially desirable sites have a sale value too great to permit their permanent use by any but the wealthiest congregations.

ADAPTABILITY

Adaptability is at once the crux of the matter for the exceptional church, and at the same time the element most within its control.   It should be a chief center of effort in the strategy of city church planning.

CHARACTERISTICALLY LACKING IN SUB-MODAL CHURCHES

On a number of counts sub-modal churches convict themselves by the testimony of their pastors of serious lack of adaptability.   In ten instances no other serious weakness is evident.   Sub-modal churches have failed to adjust themselves to their environment; they have been unable to capitalize their opportunity.   Excessively small size or serious decrease in membership in better territory seems always to be an accompaniment of some failure to adapt church life to the needs of people whose status is improving.

Lack of adaptability on the part of sub-modal churches sometimes expresses itself in unusual clannishness or averseness to change in church methods.[16]   Sub-modal churches mention old age as a reason for their difficulty in adjusting themselves to conditions twice as often as average churches in better territory.   In the midst of rapid social change for the better, the unimaginative sub-modal church has not been able to anticipate and capitalize the noteworthy im-

---

[16] Variant churches, whether sub-modal or super-modal, are more clannish than average churches.   Clannishness would seem, therefore, to be associated alike with relative success and relative failure.   What is solidarity in super-modal churches may be mere aloofness in sub-modal.   If there are enough of a kind, clannishness succeeds as homogeneity.   A city-wide ministry at the heart of an urban territory is affording new and legitimate opportunity for the luxury of difference.   Up to a certain point even clannishness has survival value, particularly in a centrally located church.   The peril of the exclusive interest group is that its very cohesiveness may blind it to the total needs of the community.

provements taking place in its environment or to attract its potential constituents to itself.

True, many a church which has lacked adaptability has continued to make progress. Circumstances are sometimes sufficiently favorable to permit even a somewhat rigid and inflexible organization to succeed.

Many sub-modal churches have been attempting a ministry too distinctive to contribute to their own growth, or to the general community good. Such churches have been trying to make a special appeal to a limited group in a situation that calls for a more general type of service. Most sub-modal churches are located in residential neighborhoods which are economically and socially homogeneous, of a standard American type. Previous linguistic and national affiliations have somewhat evaporated, sectarian loyalties have worn thin in the commerce of every-day living. In a neighborhood itself merely a restricted geographical area the church must be all things to all men, whatever their traditional denominational background or its ecclesiastical connection. Special interests draw constituents to central locations or even to sub-centers, but rarely succeed in pulling people from one residential area to another across the normal traffic lanes of week-day experience. People move freely toward the centers of city life, but it is not easy for them regularly to journey crosstown.

Accordingly the church in a residential area which appeals to any one type of mind theologically speaking, or to any one type of temperament in terms of cultus, or to any extreme economic viewpoint, or to any particular social status, or to any highly specialized vocational group, is normally in a position of great difficulty.[17] In an exclusive

[17] Sub-modal churches are more frequently liberal in their theology than anything else. From this it does not follow that liberal churches are sub-modal. The average residential church is conservative in its theology.

While inclined to be liberal in theology sub-modal churches take back with their left hand what they have extended with their right. On the average both in better and in poorer territory, and among super-modal churches, open communion is felt to be of assistance by half of the churches, but less than 40 per cent. of the sub-modal churches so regard it.

and wealthy suburb, sufficiently large, a one-class church can succeed. Adjoining a university campus a church may make a special appeal to student and academic types. In an industrial community an essentially labor church may be possible. Where a neighborhood is largely occupied by people of foreign extraction, still speaking a foreign tongue, then a language or national emphasis is for the moment possible. In average residential areas the eccentric church is likely to be sub-modal.

Where the influence of language or nationality persists too long, where rural churches remain unadjusted to urban ways,[18] where a church puts correctness of worship forms before community need, there churches have sought to save their own lives by over-emphasizing some theory of living, with the result that in the midst of life at its richest they have grown less and less. This has happened in city after city, in denomination after denomination; in large churches as well as small, in new churches as well as old.

Whether a church shall confine its ministry to a groove which leads to extinction, or expand it to meet community need, is within its own power to decide, once it senses the alternative; but before a church can make the adaptations required in a given situation it must first of all understand its necessities.

Study of social trends in the neighborhood and in the city at large will throw light on how the particular congregation should manage those transitions inevitable in the life of the adaptable church in the changing city. The rural church in a neighborhood that has turned suburban

---

[18] While some rural churches are able to adapt themselves to a suburban situation, eight sub-modal churches originally rural, now find themselves in a suburban situation so abruptly and violently new that they have not been able to make the necessary transition. Not only do they find their own constituencies diminishing, at least relatively; accustomed to rather poor and feeble older communities, they are incapable of ministering to the rapidly increasing population which now swarms about them, or of living up to its standards of new improvements and wealth. Especially do formerly rural churches feel this inability, to an extent which may amount to an inferiority complex, when the incoming suburbanites bring their own churches with them. Outmoded, starving in the midst of plenty, they are unable to cope with the urban civilization which has engulfed them.

must alter its whole manner of life. The language group in a generation fully Americanized can hold its youth to the values of the past only by sharing in their enthusiasms for the present. The church in the midst of social improvement must keep pace with the psychology of its constituency. Everywhere, whatever the environment, change is taking place in the morals, in the theology, in the economics, in all the thought processes and manner of life of the people to whom the church seeks to minister. In some instances these changes may be distressingly slow, in others they may be bewilderingly fast; always there is change. The fact that often the change is slowest in the field termed religious is a part of the very essence of the problem of the church.

Nobody can make a church change its ways. If it insists on being clannish, it must stay clannish. If it is uncompromising in its averseness to change, then it can break itself on the rock of its own stubbornness. There is, however, no obstacle in the way of its success, under such circumstances, save the inner, psychological obstacles of unwillingness or inability to adapt itself to changing opportunities.

SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES ADAPTABLE

Super-modal churches located in "good spots" or pockets of territory better than their general environment, have needed only to conform to the social trends in their neighborhoods, and success has been more or less inevitable.

Some churches located in the midst of environmental adversity have decided to stay put. Refusing to run away, and unwilling to die, they have solved their problem by adapting their ministry to the need of the immediate neighborhood or to some need in the wider environment. The former, by adjusting their ministry to a new type of constituent, fight an effectual rear-guard action against the forces of disintegration in the life of the city. The latter, by inducing their people to travel on Sunday as they do on

week-days, toward the heart of the city, build up at a central, easily accessible site a city-wide ministry of a specialized type, appealing to one group of people. Thus, by capitalizing the unifying self-consciousness of the entire city, they transcend the limitations of its central neighborhoods. To become a neighborhood church, either wholly or in part, a congregation must know the needs of its neighborhood. Neighborhood churches of the outstandingly super-modal type are institutions that have conspicuously understood and served their neighborhoods. One super-modal church that shows no particular adaptation has so faithfully cultivated its neighborhood that it has literally been able to compel people to come to its place of worship.

If in a given neighborhood a number of churches widen their outreach and do not include neighborhood service, all the neighborhood needs remain, largely unmet. Such a situation immediately calls for joint planning, for the sake of an adequate community ministry, and leads on at once to one of the more constructive phases of interdenominational comity. City-wide churches which neglect their own doorsteps have simply laid the problem of their neighbors back on the total Protestantism of the city.[19]

Nine super-modal churches out of ten report one or more items of adaptability. This is more than the adaptation of their programs in detail to meet specific needs, it is a general ability to adjust their whole life to changing situations.[20] Under this general heading are grouped, (1) the

---

[19] It is quite possible that the average church can make the appropriate adaptations to the needs of its community only as a process of parish education based on the facts and issues involved in its community responsibility is developed, in order that the policy and program to be adopted may be intelligent, deliberate and democratically built. In this process emphasis would doubtless need to be placed on systematic group discussion by groups of members and by the congregation as a whole, with the guidance and counsel of friendly but unprejudiced advisors outside their own number. What this volume seeks to explore for the sake of general results, the local church is compelled to consider for the sake of its life and work.

[20] The very variety of programs found among city churches of all denominations reveals more or less deliberate effort to adjust church activity to new and different conditions. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with the materials available with reference to urban church adaptation. Besides denominational literature, and books and articles of a more popular sort, the

development of a distinctive ministry, frequently involving a distinctive theological emphasis; (2) the discovery of a neighborhood constituency all the more definitely a field of service because in the midst of unfavorable social change; (3) power to anticipate the effects of social change upon the lives of people resident in the neighborhood; and (4) the general habit of being psychologically ready to adjust church life to changing human needs.

Nearly half of the super-modal churches report the development of a distinctive ministry, through a particular theological appeal—formality or informality of worship, open communion or an appeal to denominational solidarity, services in a foreign tongue, a type of ministry particularly attractive to the academic or student group, labor, or fraternal bodies, the use of the radio, or some special device. Most city-wide churches are of this type.[21]

The strategy of city church planning has increasingly abandoned the notion that contiguity is the sole basis of religious association. With increasing urbanization secondary social relationships become relatively more important and interest groups tend to replace neighborhood parishes. Lindeman's notion that "the fluid, changing membership of the coming church will not align itself with the institution because of proximity but rather because of interests" is certainly true, to a large extent, of those central churches whose location is "in harmony with the growing morphology of our largest cities." [22]   The development of

[21] Cf. Douglass, *The Church in the Changing City,* p. xx: "The typical situations that reveal the urban spirit in its most characteristic experiences are often non-localized. . . . Highly developed group interests create their central forums for generalized utterance. . . . A church may adapt itself to urban civilization by concerning itself with such aspects of organized group interests centering in cities and without concerning itself exclusively with the social needs of any territorial neighborhood."

[22] *The Church in the Changing Community* (New York: The Community Church), p. 17.

reader is especially referred to: Douglass, *1000 City Churches* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926); Douglass, *The Church in the Changing City* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927).

selective parishes has, however, often involved the neglect of an adequate ministry to the immediate neighborhood.

Well developed adaptation is especially characteristic of super-modal churches located in central districts. In addition to the eleven city-wide churches cited in Chapter V attention may be called to a fundamentalist Presbyterian church in a great city, with its staff of ten, its nation-wide radio ministry which has aroused "great persecution by other ministers," 60 per cent. of its total accessions coming on confession or reaffirmation, half of the remainder from other denominations, and its office equipment as modern as its theology is conservative; and also to a church that serves as a focal point for Southern Methodism, with its membership of nearly four thousand and its Sunday school of 3,300, its staff of six including a radio manager, and a minister nationally famous, located in a city whose religious leadership in a number of instances rouses great loyalty and great opposition, locally and elsewhere. It is possible for a church to be super-modal without achieving the sort of success that every church would choose to emulate.

Some super-modal churches are clearly motivated by considerations which they denounce as the basis of business or political action. Some competitive churches are so sectarian that they ridicule comity, and try to riddle it with rhetorical grape shot or homiletical shrapnel. While the data do not prove that coöperation is better than competition, they do make it clear that those churches which profess a desire to develop a common strategy cannot at the same time imitate the ruthless type of competition sometimes practiced by Protestant churches. The analysis of super-modality has indicated the sort of success that may be emulated by a church which desires to practice as well as profess the doctrine of altruism.

Roman Catholicism relates its cathedrals and specialized churches to its geographical parishes with comparative ease. Protestant Episcopal diocesan cathedrals are also definitely

related to local parishes. The so-called cathedral churches of non-liturgical Protestantism have a quite different and much more difficult problem in relating themselves to neighborhood churches and to one another. Here the attraction of great voices, whether of the spoken word or of noble music, and of attractive programs of activity for age- and sex-groups, puts the meager resources of the neighborhood church at a distinct disadvantage. Many a great church actually competitive would repudiate any thought of being so. So much the more is joint planning essential if conduct and intent are to be squared.

Adaptation may move in quite different directions in the same situation. In a city where fundamentalism and modernism thrive, side by side, the Assembly of God showed a membership increase of 302 per cent. during the decade. In another city one district is well served by a Church of God which under able leadership has achieved considerable success in a distinctly ordinary situation, wholly without proselyting.

Hard by a broadly tolerant church another congregation is a defender of the faith once delivered to the saints. It conceives its ministry to be the propagation of true doctrine.[23] It sets out to accomplish this purpose, and the

---

[23] A distinctive theology is frequently a factor in the super-modal church. While only 13 per cent. of the churches in residential areas call themselves fundamentalist, 19 per cent. of the churches in the more central districts do so, and 24 per cent. of the super-modal churches. While theological conservatism, regarded as less than fundamentalist in tendency, is characteristic of nearly 40 per cent. of the churches in residential areas, it is the label accepted by over half of the churches more centrally located. Practically an average number of sub-modal churches are theologically conservative, but super-modal churches are distinctly less likely to be merely conservative because distinctly more likely to be fundamentalist. Theological liberalism is characteristic of practically a third of the churches. While 50 per cent. of the sub-modal churches are liberal, super-modal churches are only average in this regard. On the other hand, no particular theology has as much to do with super-modality as is sometimes supposed. That is to say, just the opposite theology to that professed by some super-modal churches is professed by other super-modal churches. Several super-modal churches are liberal to the point of radicalism. Several are conservative to the point of reaction. The number of churches of each theological type varies according

visitor is struck with the sincerity and vigor with which it presses its doctrinal assault on the citadels of the unorthodox. Here are two churches within a stone's throw of one another, utterly different, yet both adapted to a constituency which they have discovered. Over and over again this contrast occurs. In a sense the adaptability of neither would permit it to perform the other's service. They are now adapted to a particular function, each to a very different one; adaptability has become adaptation. Yet it was adaptability in an earlier stage which made it possible for them to survive, which made it inevitable that both should emerge as statistically super-modal.

More than a fifth of the super-modal churches report that there is within a mile a homogeneous constituency to which they have learned to minister. The constituency which now occupies the field is often of a very different sort from that which founded the church, but it is increasing; and churches in poorer territory willing to serve their immediate neighborhoods can and actually do find as much as 98 per cent. of their constituents within a mile of their buildings. From these people of lower social and economic status real community service has won significant response.

Nearly three-fourths of the super-modal churches show exceptional general adaptability in the sense of being able to adjust themselves to the changing needs of their environments. Some churches have been able to anticipate and capitalize noteworthy recent changes in the social development and group attitudes of their constituencies.[24] Some

[24] Often a church centrally located and successfully ministering to its neighborhood has discovered an opportunity for an additional city-wide ministry, distinctive in its nature, much as an alert and resourceful established

to the number of people of each type in the particular city. In general there are more conservatives than liberals. Among super-modal churches some find it advantageous to practice closed communion; others, both liberal and conservative in theology, practice open communion. One liberal church claims to receive 50 per cent. of its membership from the unchurched, and another liberal church 90 per cent. from other denominations. These churches are located alongside fundamentalist churches which report that they receive practically no members from churches of other denominations or alien to their type of thinking.

churches have transcended old denominational loyalties by rendering a community ministry so generally attractive that they have been able to receive 25 per cent. or more of their accessions from churches of other denominations.

Additional cases of super-modality among neighborhood churches would include the downtown Norwegian Lutheran church which began in 1919 with eleven families, and by the end of the last decade had enlisted nearly 3,000 members. In a single recent year 500 new communicants were added to its rolls. Such a church affords a striking example of what vigorous leadership and genuinely progressive spirit can do to establish a central enterprise of a relatively modern type when there is a large national and denominational group on which to draw. It has created a new social and religious life for persons of all ages, especially the young.

In another case in another city a church of the Evangelical Synod in North America, which has made a successful transition from German to English, was served during the decade studied by a pastor whose recent promotion to an eminent professorship is matched by the AAA progress of the church.

In still another situation, in another city in a neighborhood of hill folk, where a Pentecostal Mission, a Lighthouse Mission, a House of Prayer Mission and a Nazarene Church all hold the fort together, a Baptist church, the most regular enterprise in the district, made AAA progress during the decade. The fact that this frankly fundamentalist, distinctly informal, closed communion congregation, led by a man neither a college nor seminary graduate, maintains

business may develop a profitable side-line. Sometimes what began by being incidental assumes larger importance than the original basis of the enterprise. Cf. Douglass, *1000 City Churches*—p. 265: "The socially adapted church . . . is often built upon the historic foundations of the 'family church' which, as such, has failed. The original members are widely dispersed, though some of them continue their connections with the church in its new venture. The alien groups for whom the community work of such a church is primarily carried on are often not of Protestant stock and are not readily brought into full membership. Under these circumstances the bulk of the work may be highly localized while membership is scattered."

what to some would seem like a continuous revival meeting
would doubtless be taken as a compliment by the energetic
membership of this congregation.   This is a country church
that has moved to town, and is vastly more numerous than
it could have been back in the hills.   Yet it has retained its
old fervor under the strange new conditions of urban life.
While in other respects life is different, religion is enjoyed
according to the old patterns, or just as nearly according to
them as possible.

Finally an utterly different sort of church is a Protestant
Episcopal parish which has rendered so conspicuous a
neighborhood ministry in the poorest section of one of the
smaller cities that in the face of a 13 per cent. loss in the
population of its ward it more than doubled its com-
municant membership during the decade.   The outstanding
feature of this situation is a large, new social-service build-
ing with no denominational, social or racial distinctions.

GROUP SOLIDARITY

FREQUENT UNHAPPINESS IN SUB-MODAL CHURCHES

More significant for the sub-modal church than its
leadership, whether paid or volunteer, professional or lay,
large in number or small, are the relationships exhibited
within the rank and file of its membership.   Member atti-
tudes are strikingly different in sub-modal churches as com-
pared with those in average and super-modal churches.

The sub-modal church not only faces the difficulty of
getting adequate funds from few people, and those few
sometimes not very well off; it frequently confesses its
*inability to get a financial response fairly commensurate
with the wealth of the constituency* which it has already
enlisted.   The people have the money, but do not find the
church worth even what they can afford to pay.

The schedule groups together three items which one
pastor termed a "trinity of gloom": *squabbles, scandals and
schisms.*   All types of churches are more or less subject to

such inner blights. If the three items are taken together, so that if any one of them occurs in a church it is said to be experiencing internal difficulty, then average churches in better territory face this handicap much more frequently than do average churches in poorer territory. Churches in poorer territory cannot afford and cannot withstand such a handicap. To survive at all they must pull together as individual congregations, and avoid all occasions for stumbling. Sub-modal churches report this handicap three times as often as do super-modal churches.

If each of these three internal difficulties is considered by itself, the percentages show that squabbly sub-modal churches are more than twice as frequent as squabbly super-modal churches; and sub-modal churches report schisms four times as often as do super-modal churches. Scandals occur more frequently among both sorts of variants than among average churches; but are especially vicious in their effect upon sub-modal churches. It would serve no good purpose to describe particular situations where unhappy internal relations have made progress impossible, or grossly incompetent pastoral leadership affords the key to sub-modality. Such instances are all too well known. Sometimes inner infelicity appears to be due to the very smallness of the enterprise, and the meager life of the church. External pressure is so acute that the few members are thrown too close together. One suspects that if they could once forget themselves in some abandon of community service, they would be able to get along better, but immersed as they are in the petty affairs of a tiny congregation they fail to reveal their own true worth.[25]

Many a pastor is underpaid, and it would be expected that the pastors of sub-modal churches would have most complaint at this point. As a matter of fact they affirm with somewhat greater frequency than do pastors of super-

---

[25] It is doubtless for such reasons as these that there are in print only very meager clinical materials with regard to the failure of favorably located churches to make progress in line with environmental improvement.

modal churches that they are *paid an amount commensurate with the professions of loyalty and affection on the part of their congregations.* Perhaps there is a subtle irony in this testimony! The success of the pastors of supermodal churches, on the other hand, leads them to feel that the successful laborer is worthy of an ampler hire as well as protestations of affection and esteem. Here the ministerial conscience is doubtless running true to form. The increasing interest in the equalization of ministerial salaries is undoubtedly an evidence of growing dissatisfaction with a situation that rewards ministers without reference to their needs. In other words the ministerial conscience grows more sensitive.

Differences of opinion between pastor and people are common enough in this human world. However, sub-modal churches more than twice as frequently as super-modal churches report such differences. Likewise super-modal churches more than twice as frequently as sub-modal churches report exceptional unanimity and loyalty. Supermodal churches are distinguished by institutional morale and cohesiveness nearly three times as frequently as are sub-modal churches. Sub-modal churches report a lack of institutional morale and cohesiveness more than twice as often as do super-modal churches.

It is true of nearly two-fifths of the sub-modal churches that somehow they don't hang together. There seems to be in them some inner flaw, which may be either a cause or a result of inadequate resources of money or personnel. The present state of the sub-modal church is more often characterized by recent disruption than by almost any other characteristic. Their loyalties divided, sub-modal churches fail to unite on common goals of effort.

CHARACTERISTIC INTERNAL FELICITY IN SUPER-MODAL CHURCHES

Five super-modal churches out of six show evidence of exceptional group loyalty. Super-modal churches generally report a large number of generous givers, exceptional

unanimity and loyalty, and exceptional institutional morale and cohesiveness.[26]   Such qualities as constitute what the sociologist calls group solidarity and the churchman terms a spirit of Christian fellowship, produce institutional vigor and lay the basis for progress.   The absence of such qualities constitutes so severe a handicap that unless there are exceptional offsets in leadership, control, financial resources or other internal assets, no amount of external opportunity will assure success.   On the other hand, given this sort of institutional vigor, due to cohesive loyalty and the absence of contention, no amount of adverse circumstances external to the church seems able to prevent it from making progress.

A prime essential to success on the part of a church located in a difficult situation is that spirit of Christian good will, that strength of human fellowship, that group solidarity which is appropriate to a Christian enterprise, and which, where it is present, seems almost to make possible the impossible.   Vigorously unified organizations find ways to solve problems, and to circumvent difficulties, or even to turn liabilities into assets.

The factors which produce group loyalty are various. Enthusiastic doctrinal agreement, homogeneous group life sometimes rooting in a common ancestral culture, a common enthusiasm for a particular type of worship or form of church government, or a large venture successfully achieved by team play, such as a building campaign or an especially effective every-member canvass, may produce group loyalty.   Just as truly may it be destroyed by doctrinal disagreements, the stress and strain of cultural readjustments, and sharp differences over church rites or polity.   Likewise financial considerations may strengthen

---

[26] One United Brethren church of 1,200 members has 1,000 regular givers. In a district increasingly Negro and where there was a small loss in population during the last decade this church more than doubled its membership, and during the last six years of the decade, under a pastor who helped the church comb the neighborhood, 90 per cent. of its accessions came from within a mile.

or destroy group loyalty. Sometimes debt becomes so burdensome that loyalty cracks under the strain; sometimes a heavy financial load is carried with superb faithfulness; and, because every member does as he is able, even debt unites rather than divides. Sometimes a common enthusiasm for a well-loved leader produces such loyalty. In such instances it is not a question of the general caliber of the man but only of the loyalty which he arouses.

BUILDING GROUP SOLIDARITY

As the use of new discussion techniques may be necessary if the program of the local church is to be intelligently adjusted to community need, so it may well be that a new type of evangelism will be required if the average member of the local church is to catch a new enthusiasm for the church as a servant of its neighborhood. In those super-modal churches located in the most difficult places there is at least some measure of this sort of enthusiasm.

Even under the most favorable circumstances a church needs every element of strength that it can muster. A single element like dissension can undo all the external advantage. As a matter of fact, however, the church which fails because of lack of group solidarity alone is an almost unknown quantity. Failure in group morale is the accompaniment of other weaknesses. So far as the data show, mere dissension has not wrecked a single sub-modal church, although it is one of the most frequent elements of weakness in churches failing in the midst of advantage.

Plainly no amount of outside administrative wisdom can make people reasonable who persist in being unreasonable, or can smother the odor of scandal, if the people of the local church cannot conspire to let bygones be bygones. Yet there is no handicap of difference of opinion, lack of team play, squabble, scandal or schism, which cannot be effectively overcome where there is a will to overcome it. It is the opportunity of the outside counsellor by deft counsel and by skillful appeal to genuine Christian commitment to

mend as well as possible what has been broken through any serious rift. The best cure for ecclesiastical nerves is much the same as for bodily nerves—get an interest outside yourself. The disintegrating or unintegrated church has found itself best in the self-forgetful attempt to serve the needs of the neighborhood or of some special urban group. What the church preaches to the individual the really best churches have discovered to be good medicine for themselves.

Moreover, as regards internal relationships as well as adaptability, an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. The sub-modal church in good territory which desires to become modal, can and ought clearly to avoid as far as possible any rigidity of program or infelicity of internal relationship that will prevent the desired progress. More important than anything else is an alertness to the needs of the community and a common purpose to meet these needs. There is nothing beyond the ability of ordinary Christians in such a requirement.

CONCLUSION

There is no mystery or magic about church failure in the midst of advantage or church success in the midst of adversity. The natural thing, the usual thing, the average thing for a church to do in the midst of social improvement is to make corresponding progress, in the midst of stagnant social conditions or unfavorable social change to become static or to slip backward. Not all churches so located follow the natural course. Some churches fail to keep the advancing pace of their neighborhoods; some rise above neighborhood difficulties and wring success out of adverse circumstances.

The details of this double process have been presented in this chapter. The concluding chapter moves on from the requirements which the facts put upon individual churches to their broader consequences for urban Protestantism as a whole.

COÖPERATIVE URBAN STRATEGY

Previous chapters have made plain how a city may gain knowledge of the social trends within its neighborhoods and of the progress of its churches. While the great majority of the churches are just average, conforming in the main to the social trends in their environment, some churches have been shown to be exceptional. The elements of weakness and strength in these exceptional churches have been discussed in some detail, and the extent to which each phase of sub-modality or of super-modality is subject to control has been indicated.

This review of the facts has necessarily been objective. It did not and could not take into account those intangible and unmeasurable elements which are universally felt to be an important part of the life of any social institution, especially of the church. The discussion has shown what super-modal churches are like, but not just how they came to be that way. There may be a hint in the data already given with regard to competition[1] that is significant at this point. Super-modal churches for the most part are not conscious of competition. This does not mean that they are always non-competitive. Human nature being what it still is, and the genius of Protestantism being what it is, it would be too much to expect that all super-modal churches have become so merely by the exercise of the highest Christion virtues. In plain words, it is highly probable, though in the nature of the case incapable of objective proof, that some super-modal churches have achieved a certain portion

---

[1] Ch. VI, pp. 154 ff.

of their exceptional success by elbowing other churches out of the way, just as big stores put little stores out of business. The ruthlessly competitive church, like the ruthlessly competitive retail store, may so successfully adjust itself to its environment as to achieve super-modality. From the standpoint of a competitive order, this is the end of the story.

An occasional super-modal church represents an extreme of parochialism. It conscientiously refuses fellowship even with other churches of its own denomination, because they are too conservative or too liberal, too formal or too informal. Some super-modal churches, while not ruthlessly competitive, conscientiously conceive of denominational loyalty as inhibiting fellowship with those of other denominations. Denominational isolationism as represented by such churches will have nothing to do with coöperative strategy. It will favor friendly relationships among the denominations, but will consider the demand for unified Protestant planning unwarranted. As the narrow nationalist believes the best international strategy to be a matter of the free agency of sovereign states, so the unbending denominationalist repudiates the whole notion of a general Protestant stategy of any sort. To his mind the exceptions reported in this study will support the principle of free competition as the one best adapted to the advancement of religion. From his standpoint the only genuine Protestant strategy is the loyalty of every congregation and of each denomination to its own peculiar mission and advantage as determined by itself.

The apologist for competition forgets, however, that the same competitive tactics which favor an occasional super-modal church handicap many sub-modal churches. He also forgets that all churches are quite willing to have denominational help in time of need, and that all denominations are glad to be assigned to productive non-competitive territory and to be interdenominationally assisted in areas of liability. As a matter of fact, extremely individualistic

attitudes do not represent urban Protestantism as a whole. Most churches desire to plan their future not only with due regard to available counsel and financial assistance, but also in the light of their obligation to the church at large and to the community. They are unwilling to exalt the principle of freedom at the expense of fellowship. They regard the latter as just as characteristically Protestant as the right to differ. To them the sacrifice of community unity to the occasional success of particular local churches would mean the bankruptcy of Protestantism.

So far as profession goes, American Protestantism is overwhelmingly committed to coöperative procedures. Parochialism and sectarianism, while sometimes successful, are now rarely approved in public utterance; even more rarely do they seek to justify themselves in formal statement. Ecclesiastical statesmanship has decided in favor of emulating only that sort of parish success that considers the welfare of other churches and the good of the total community.

Church Strategy a Phase of City Planning

Urban Protestantism in America has been no more inchoate than civic life in general. It shares in all the storm and stress of the adolescent city, which grows so fast that it does not understand itself, and comes only slowly into a sense of deliberate direction. The strategy of city church planning is simply the church phase of the general subject of city planning.[2]

The belated awakening even of progressive cities like Rochester to the need of city planning may afford comfort to those who realize the need of similar planning by the

---

[2] "As a science city planning purports to discover the truth about the city in respect to its economic, social and physical conditions." Thomas Adams, Art. "City and Town Planning," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Vol. III, p. 486. "The underlying principle that justifies city planning is expressed in the common-place that prevention is better and cheaper than cure. Its purpose is to know the city, including all its defects, and then to seek by planning to preserve what is good, to remove what is bad and above all to prevent the recurrence of the bad." *Ibid.*, p. 487.

churches. "For generations," says Justin Wroe Nixon, "Rochester, like Topsy, had just grown. No central well-coördinated scheme prophetic of the future had directed its expansion. As a result it had over 1,700 dead-end streets (which led nowhere) and jogs, which impeded the traffic with which the motor age had overwhelmed it. Without a plan it could not go on. It would be strangled to suffocation if the ancient highways were left undisturbed. The new city plan uses every existing street that it is possible to use. Many are left undisturbed. Some are widened. Many disconnected streets are to be united. Some entirely new streets are to be put through. But all the changes of whatever nature are to be governed by certain fundamental principles of city planning and the control of traffic present and future, which have been derived from the broadest experience of urban life." [3]

What modern city planning proposes to do about streets, parks, zoning and other matters, the strategy of city church planning proposes to do about churches, in so far as a divided Protestantism can work out a coöperative procedure. As no one street can be discussed without reference to the total street system of a city, so no one church can be adequately considered without reference to the total churching of the city. [4]

In a military sense strategy, according to the *Standard Dictionary*, is "the science of projecting and directing important movements or operations; . . . of position and of the combination and employment of means on a broad scale." More generally it is "the display or exercise of skill and forethought in carrying out one's plans, schemes, etc." The strategy of city church planning is the science of projecting and directing, in such ways as may seem appropriate to urban Protestants, the location and programiz-

---

[3] Nixon, *An Emerging Christian Faith* (New York: Harper, 1930), p. 308.
[4] On this whole matter of "the well-churched city" including "the tendency of city populations toward a non-territorial grouping" cf. Douglass, *The City's Church* (New York: Friendship Press, 1929), pp. 214 ff.

ing of local churches. The church militant in the urban
situation, if it desires to win everywhere all along the line,
will require the continuous service of a competent, far-
seeing and fair-minded board of strategy, coöperatively
maintained. Only so can selfish competition be avoided
and the resources of all the churches be placed at the
service of all.

Lack of Coöperation Prevents Adequate Churching

As Protestantism actually functions, there is no assur-
ance that competition and overchurching are avoided or
that the religious needs of each neighborhood and interest
group are adequately met. That there are instances where
the number and kind of churches are approximately what
they should be, goes without saying. To say, however, that
the law of supply and demand is adequate for the proper
adjustment of community need and church development is
to assume that a community adjusts itself automatically to
a situation which nobody in particular is able to analyze
and appraise. It is well within the truth to say that the
Protestantism of no considerable urban area in America
has as yet formulated its probable needs in terms of ade-
quate churching for the next decade, generation or half
century. Individual denominations have projected their
own plans, but Protestantism does not yet view the church-
ing of the cities in the large. Previous Institute studies
have long ago made plain the necessity of broader planning
than has yet been undertaken in any great American city.[5]

---

[5] Cf. Douglass, *The St. Louis Church Survey* (New York: Institute of Social
and Religious Research, 1924), p. 93: "It would seem to be obvious that any
possibility of the equalizing of religious opportunity for the entire city involves
religious planning of a new sort. Its natural strategy may be divergent from
and contrary to the strategy of mere denominational advantage. It must
subordinate the institutional means to the social end. . . . It must ask what
is really the good of the entire population. . . . This involves a very revolu-
tionary departure from the separate and sectarian objective of the past. Each
local church has been acting alone, seeking institutional advantage by staying
or by moving, as the case might be. Each denomination has been trying first
of all to grow. Protestantism has . . . rarely taken the viewpoint of com-
munity service. Yet such a viewpoint is a fundamental necessity if the church
would be Christian."
Also Douglass, *The Springfield Church Survey* (New York: Institute of

COMPETITION IN ADAPTATION

"Fellowship and coöperation multiply the power of the churches manyfold. An adequate program of adaptation to meet the various needs can be developed only as the many churches work together." [6] On any other basis the most successful city-wide churches may actually be divisive of the community at large. If such enterprises have no common ends which they can serve together, they are essentially competitive, whether they acknowledge the fact or not. "Reciprocity, and the complementary planning of programs by the downtown churches, call for continuous coöperation on their part." [7]

THE DANGER OF NEGLECT

It is as essential that there should be no *overlooking* as it is that there should be no overlapping. The worst phase of competitive effort is that the energy expended in unnecessary duplication might better be used in fields where no church is adequately meeting the community need. Because what's everybody's business is really nobody's business, Protestantism is often quite unaware of some of the most serious needs of the American city. Because a field grows difficult one denomination after another can withdraw without realizing that tens of thousands of people may be left without any adequate Protestant ministry. Only by a coöperative understanding of such neighborhood needs and the use of its total resources can Protestantism offset this tendency.

[6] Hallenbeck, *Minneapolis Churches and Their Comity Problems*, p. 82.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Social and Religious Research, 1926), p. 345: "The outstanding feature of the geographical occupancy of Springfield by Protestantism, is its pronounced aversion to the areas of profoundest social need, coupled with the demonstration of special handicaps under which Protestantism labors in any sectarian effort to meet the need. If there is any conscience or heart in the Christian civilization of the city, something must be done about this. Individualistic efforts are surely inadequate. There must be coöperation to meet the situation. For the sectarian spirit, a broadly catholic and civic spirit much be substituted."

A former Institute study showed that 66 per cent. of the population in the three most central districts in Minneapolis were unchurched. "The failure of the churches to adapt themselves to the present types of nearby people with their new ways of thinking and different ways of living has left, in the heart of the city, a multitude unchurched and in need of ministry." [8]

While interdenominational agreements ought in no sense to stifle any new expression of neighborhood religion, one or two of the established denominations might well assume, as a trust for all, the consolidation of a group of churches into a commanding institution at each near downtown focus. In such institutions there might well be mobilized the resources of the total Protestantism of the city. [9] Adequate plants, adaptable if need be later to non-ecclesiastical purposes, should be erected for the use of such enterprises. Programs elaborate enough to meet each particular situation and specifically adapted to it should be undertaken.

Where population is increasing, a different situation is presented. The more acute problem in areas of increasing population quickly becomes: What is the formula, clearcut but adaptable, by which Protestantism can determine how much additional population is necessary before a second church of the coöperative group enters territory which has already been assigned to another?

SUBJECT TO CONTROL

Competition is within the absolute control of the church. The local congregation can refuse to enter or remain in a situation where an adequate ministry can be rendered without it. The individual denomination can do all within its power to prevent competition among churches of its own

---

[8] Hallenbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 and 82. On the other hand, all the rest of the sector was found to be overchurched. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[9] "A mile, a half mile, and even two or three blocks often make heaven a thousand times remoter and hell a thousand times more likely. This is not a situation to cope with in the weakness of division, but, if at all, in the strength of combination of resources and agencies." H. Paul Douglass, in the address previously cited.

type. Interdenominational coöperation can assure both the avoidance of competition through specific agreements, and a general city planning which will provide churches of the type, number and location required by the expanding urban community. Protestantism can avoid competition whenever and wherever it seriously desires to do so.

The new phase in the situation is that there is increasing discontent with Protestant competitiveness. Whatever the difficulties in the way denominational leaders are increasingly clear that the duty of Protestantism to any normal urban area cannot be discharged without city-wide coöperation. They know that a *laissez faire* policy of locating and programizing churches is not likely to result in an adequate ministry to all the chief interest groups in an urban area, still less to all its neighborhoods, especially those neighborhoods in which social trends are distinctly unfavorable. They know that churching of the city does not and cannot evolve out of the independent activities of individual churches or even of denominational or district groups of churches. They are convinced that only a coöperative strategy can prevent competition in overchurched areas, provide adequate churching in underchurched areas, and plan wisely for the churching of the future.[10]

Comity Becomes Social Engineering

A quarter of a century ago the comity movement began in the first recognition of the necessity for just such coöperation. Progressive church leaders long ago abandoned

---

[10] While this study makes no effort to discuss the number of churches which would be most desirable in any given city, or even to outline in detail the principles by which such a number can be determined, its results confirm the judgment ventured in earlier Institute publications that Protestantism "must control the number of churches in the interest of adequate churching, and must so reduce the number that the majority of the people will have the better quality of institutional service that can only be secured when there are more people behind the church," and that " 'overchurched' . . . does not mean merely that there are organizational infelicities, or that the situation is a moral affront to the spirit of coöperation. It inevitably means that most of the people are getting a low quality of religious service." Quoted from Douglass, *Church Comity* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), p. 155, and Hallenbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

the policy of "competitive drift" and moved out deliberately into a program of "coöperative intention." The strategy of city church planning is in large measure, therefore, only an amplification of what comity is coming to be. It is increasingly recognized that adequate location and programizing of churches involve not merely avoiding or settling specific controversies, but also a wide knowledge of the human fortunes of all the residents of the urban area under consideration, and of the progress of all the religious institutions at work in that area.

Comity now has at least a deterrent effect on ecclesiastical consciences increasingly sensitive to popular tendencies toward fewer and better churches; and what conscience does not prevent by way of overchurching, economic inability aids in delaying. Everywhere it is recognized that the fortunes of downtown and residential churches are bound up together, and that there is an essential equivalency among some denominations which reduces the number of types of churches required by any one neighborhood. That the former disposition to dispute the validity of the whole idea of comity is fast disappearing is shown by important findings of official bodies, denominational and interdenominational, local and national.

DENOMINATIONAL ACTION

As an example of recent denominational attitudes the statement of the chairman of the Inter-presbytery Committee on Church Survey and Planning representing the presbyteries of Elizabeth, Morris and Orange, Jersey City, and Newark, of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., may be quoted. Says he: "We cannot continue to develop the program of our churches in a haphazard fashion. As the Regional Planning Commission is developing a plan for the region, so the Church must develop a statesmanlike plan which will embrace this entire metropolitan area. . . . In developing a program for the area, account must be

taken of the self-supporting churches as well as the aid-receiving. Just because a church is able to pay its own bills is no criterion that it is meeting the needs of its community adequately, or even that its right to a continued independent existence is *ipso facto* proven. . . . We as Presbyterians cannot plan for the work of our Christ in this district without reference to the other Protestant denominations. Further steps in the direction of interdenominational coöperation are urgently needed." [11]

INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACTION

As an example of interdenominational actions, it is only necessary to cite the findings of the conference on "The Church in the Changing City" held in Detroit, February 17–19, 1930, and those of the North American Home Missions Congress held in Washington, D. C., December 5, 1930. The former contained a specific section on City Strategy and City Planning, and the latter gave careful consideration to the relationship between downtown and residential churches as well as to the increasing importance of churches making specialized appeal to particular interest groups.[12]

What is most characteristic of these recent findings is that the technique of the engineer is being slowly substituted for that of the rival general or the negotiator.

LOCAL DEVELOPMENTS

Equally important and perhaps even more significant are those local developments in the field of comity which have made for coöperative study of the situation and allocation

---

[11] Shriver and Jones, *After Two Hundred and Sixty-Five Years* (A study of the two hundred Presbyterian churches in the Metropolitan Region of North-eastern New Jersey), (New York: Presbyterian Board of National Missions, 1932), p. 8. Cf. also pages 14 and 15 on "Interchurch Coöperation." Cf. also *A Survey of Methodist Episcopal Churches in Manhattan, the Bronx and Westchester* (New York: M. E. Church City Planning Committee, 1931), especially Chapter V "Brotherhood Among the Churches," pp. 30 ff. and Conclusion, pp. 64 ff.

[12] Significant excerpts from both of these documents are printed in Appendix C.

of responsibility to meet it.   These have been summarized
up to 1928 in an earlier publication of the Institute.[13]

Important developments have taken place since the pub-
lication of that volume, and additional significant under-
takings are now under way.   It will not be considered
invidious if the United Survey sponsored by the Church
Federation of Chicago is cited as representative of greater
progress than has been made to date in any other city.   The
Protestant leaders of Chicago would be the first to say that
their work could hardly have been undertaken on such a
scale without the noteworthy bequest from Mr. Victor F.
Lawson to one of the coöperating denominations.

Whenever, as in this and other instances, involving a
number of denominations in several cities, a single denomi-
nation financially and technically competent to investigate
the situation with reference to the total Protestantism of a
city, goes ahead with such an investigation, its results are
significant for all the other denominations.   If shared with
them without contribution on their part, whether of money
or of technical skill, then the one denomination is carrying
the load of all.   Such a relationship is satisfactory neither
to the benefactor denomination nor to the beneficiary de-
nominations.   Common sense dictates that fact-finding be
put on the basis of an interdenominational or undenomina-
tional approach, for Protestantism as a whole needs the
same facts.

CARRYING COMITY STILL FURTHER

While it is no part of the responsibility of such a study
as this to outline detailed procedures of an administrative
sort, the data presented in earlier chapters do suggest cer-
tain lines of advance and certain conditions of progress.   It
may be confidently expected that proper administrative
procedures will develop as the need is understood and

---

[13] Cf. Douglass, *Church Comity.*   The final chapters of this volume (Chap-
ter VIII, "A Theory of Urban Churchmanship," and Chapter IX, "Comity
Plans for Federations") are especially pertinent to the question of a more
adequate strategy of city church planning.   Cf. also Hallenbeck, *op. cit.*

individual cities undertake to devise their own positive strategy.[14] In some cases, noteworthily in Chicago, administrative precedents of the utmost importance have already been established, due to a will to work out a more satisfactory strategy based on adequate knowledge of church progress and of social change. Such situations constitute significant beginnings of an experimental strategy competent to plan church progress in the light of specific social change.

THE CHIEF REQUIREMENTS OF A COMMON STRATEGY

The method pursued by this study suggests two basic requirements, if urban Protestantism chooses to build a common strategy; and official declarations of the denominations severally and jointly have added a third. These requirements are: Knowledge of social trends, knowledge of church progress, and the will to use such knowledge for the benefit of the community.

KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIAL TRENDS

For a knowledge of social trends, indispensable for intelligent planning, the church must depend very largely on other agencies. It should encourage them to secure such information, if they are not now doing so. Natural allies in each city will be the sociology departments of local universities and colleges, the departments of practical theology, social ethics and similar subjects of local theological seminaries, and the Council of Social Agencies (or Community Chest, under whatever name). Coöperation with public

---

[14] *The Springfield Church Survey* (1926), by Douglass, was sufficiently detailed to permit the suggestion of "A Protestant Church Program for Springfield." Unfortunately neither this nor any other strategic program of advance can be put into action without both the will and the machinery. Likewise the "Findings and Recommendations" of the *St. Louis Church Survey*, published in 1924, have not evolved into an adequate church strategy, in spite of the fact that in St. Louis there is a church federation exceptionally well informed as to the church life of the city. Perhaps technology has run ahead of the power of the church to act on the facts revealed; if so, a problem in education is involved.

departments (Board of Health, Juvenile Court, etc.) will also be helpful.[15]

What this study has sought to do in an initial way for sixteen urban sectors may be carefully checked by individual cities and the results corrected and expanded. Such a process expanded to cover the entire city would inevitably improve the methodology. Through local application of the general method suggested in this volume the churches of each city can fashion their own effective and reliable instruments for use in determining their own strategy.

KNOWLEDGE OF CHURCH PROGRESS

While the church may wisely look to other organizations for the gathering of general social data, the facts as to the distribution and progress of Protestant congregations, and to a lesser extent of non-Protestant religious organizations, must be gathered in each city by organized Protestantism itself. This will require coöperative Protestant organization for survey and research. Such work, which is most properly a function of the local church federation, if such exists, will at first thought seem costly in terms both of money and of time. At the outset it may so tax the resources of the total Protestantism of any city as to be possible only through private beneficence. This does not mean, however, that survey and research are an extravagant phase of church work. Under proper safeguards they assure the soundest economy. Moreover modest beginnings need not be prohibitive from the standpoint of normal budgets.

The churches of a city will severally desire to study its major divisions and its agreed districts from the standpoint of comity and church development. These fractional studies can then be put together into a complete plan for the churching of the entire city. Such a positive study, undertaken from the standpoint of social engineering, has

---

[15] If there is no adequate districting of the city, organized Protestantism might well endeavor to secure agreement with such educational and social agencies, public and private, as to working units based on the 1930 U. S. Census or other comparable data.

clear advantages over the mere adjustment of particular comity problems, which are often approached from the legalistic viewpoint of defensive denominationalism. When field studies can be divorced from specific problems and detached from controversial issues, a certain objective, non-partisan basis is afforded for determining such issues and solving such problems when they do arise. It is far easier to meet a particular difficulty in the light of certain agreed principles and facts than to get unbiased attitudes as to either facts or principles in the midst of controversy. In such cities as Chicago, where the theory and practice of constructive church statesmanship are well advanced, ad-ministrative studies of portions of the city through well-planned committee procedures have resulted in important findings after extended periods of investigation. The con-duct of such investigation has been an integral and exceed-ingly valuable portion of the process of the training of theological students in Chicago.[16]

An important and basic detail in this program of fact-finding is such an annual computation of complete Prot-estant church statistics as has been the custom of the St. Louis Federation since the St. Louis Church Survey. This involves the annual collection of year books from all de-nominations and the transcription to identical forms of comparable data covering at least church-membership, Sunday-school enrollment, and expenditures. The data should then be summarized comparably both by denomina-tions and by districts. Such a process would enable any church or denomination to study the trends of church devel-opment over a period of time, and would go far toward providing the churches with a means of understanding one another and of charting the course of the total Protestant

---

[16] "Churching the Newer Residential Areas of a Growing City," "Churching Stabilized Residential Areas in the City," and the more general topic, "The Adequacy of Churching," were outlined as a result of the previous Institute study of the comity problems of the South Sector of Minneapolis. (Hallen-beck, *op. cit.*)

movement. Such an annual calculation would be worth far more than the time which would be required to make it. As time and money permit and imagination and ingenuity suggest, such statistical results could be visualized in graphs of individual church life-lines, denominational progress, charts and dated maps of Protestant progress and migration, and schemes for the future churching of the city, representative alike of statistical fact and of coöperative good will.

THE WILL TO UTILIZE SUCH KNOWLEDGE FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COMMUNITY

Strategic locations and effective programizing by individual churches, by single denominations, and by coöperative Protestantism within each city require not only a sound knowledge of urban sociology and of church progress, they require also a determined will to utilize the results of survey and research for the benefit of the total community and the entire church.

Such a common will may be expected to express itself in new administrative techniques; to produce an administrative guidance of the local church that will combine the science of city planning and the art of family case work. Nowhere are these more required than in the smaller cities where few city-wide ecclesiastical officials are available for the planning of a joint strategy. Such a common will may be expected to stress the sort of evangelism that will be productive not simply of individual piety, but also of ability to work together in effective parish unity and in denominational and interdenominational coöperation.

The analysis of individual cities leads on inevitably to a comparative study of different cities, with increasing effort to group the cities comparable in their social trends and church requirements. Because of the regionalism characteristic of American Protestantism a larger group of denominations is involved in the building of an adequate strategy

of city church planning than is represented in any one city.[17]

Protestantism has the opportunity nationally as well as locally to include within its coöperative program provision for continuous technical analysis of the strategy of city church planning. If the experiences of church strategists in the most progressive cities and the best-staffed denominations are to be shared with those cities less fortunately equipped for the study of the strategy of city church planning, might there not be developed some national administrative agency through which local and denominational results could be cleared, in which cumulative experience could be pooled, and from which specific counsel could be sought?

---

[17] In any one city the number of denominations holding the balance of power is relatively small. For example, in Albany seven denominations enrolled 93 per cent. of the white Protestantism reported in 1926. However, the seven denominations most dominant in Albany are not the seven which might largely control the situation elsewhere. A few denominations are found pretty much everywhere—Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians; other denominations are much more regional in character.

On any other basis than the largest possible inclusiveness there is an inevitable tendency for the larger bodies to override the interests of the smaller denominations. Those who are familiar with the history of comity in individual cities will at once recognize the truth of this assertion.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

NOTES

Note 1: Definition of the Sixteen Sectors

City .... *Sector*

Albany .... Entire city.

Chicago .... See Map 6.

Cincinnati .... See Map 13—Extending eastward from the extreme westward boundary of the downtown section extended north, including all of the area from the Ohio River to the city limits north and east.

Cleveland .... See Map 5.

Detroit .... See Map 17.

Indianapolis .... The entire northern section of the city.

Los Angeles .... Bounded on the north by the Santa Monica Mountains and the Los Angeles River, on the east by the Los Angeles River and Boyle Avenue as far as Slauson Avenue, on the south by Slauson Avenue and the city line, on the west by the suburbs bordering the Pacific Ocean.

Minneapolis .... See Map 4.

New York .... See Map 2.

Philadelphia .... All the central wards, all of West Philadelphia, and a representative portion of Delaware County.

Pittsburgh .... See Map 10—the area northeast of the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers, including suburban communities.

City	*Sector*
Rochester...........	Entire city—see Map 7.
Springfield.........	Entire city.
Washington........	The Northwest and Southwest.
Wichita............	Entire city.

Note 2: Size and Number of Districts

The size of the districts and their shape were of course determined largely by the form in which social data were available. The number might have been considerably increased in some instances in the interests of accuracy, had it been possible to secure the required breakdown of data. Practical considerations affecting both the possibility and expense of securing field data, rather than abstract ideal requirements, necessarily settled many questions of boundaries. On the whole the screen was too coarse rather than too fine, but in every sector the picture was clearly outlined in a manner to command local assent.

The number of districts used in each sector is as follows:

Sector	Number of Districts
1. Albany	19
2. Chicago	34
3. Cincinnati	20
4. Cleveland	12
5. Detroit	20
6. Indianapolis	12
7. Los Angeles	16
8. Minneapolis	13
9. New York	56
10. Philadelphia	12
11. Pittsburgh	24
12. Rochester	24
13. St. Louis	16
14. Springfield	11
15. Washington	20
16. Wichita	8
Total number districts	317

In New York City "statistical areas" used by the Cities Census Committee, or fractions of these areas more pertinent to the purposes of this study, were used. These are made up of so-called "sanitary districts" on each of which there is available a wealth of population data which has set the pace for the com-

pilation of local data in other cities. Intermediate combinations of sanitary districts, smaller than the statistical areas, constitute "health areas" on the basis of which social work data of various types are now being recorded as a matter of routine procedure by representative agencies. In Cleveland, St. Louis and other cities similar processes are under way, with varying degrees of development and success. A decade hence it will be vastly easier to study the social geography of the American city, and to plot the curves of urban social change by small districts within metropolitan areas. Only so will social statistics begin to have real local significance. Rates of change for an entire city are of relatively minor significance.

Note 3: The Choice of the Eight Factors of Social Change and Their Use in This Study

These particular factors were chosen in the light of the Institute's ten years of study of the city church and of the experience of the students of social trends, and after careful experimentation in several cities.

Density of population was carefully computed for the trial city but later rejected as irrelevant and its meaning for church life ambiguous. In another case lapses and removals of churches were given special consideration. This type of data was discarded because open to the charge of prejudicing the case in favor of the result called for by the hypothesis of the study. Neither the experience of those who planned the study nor the field work of those who made it suggested any increase in the number of factors. Each of the factors used commended itself in practice. The eight factors, tested in practice over a period of a year and a half in sixteen cities proved to be indicative of the sort of social status and change significant for the progress of white Protestant churches.

In the use of these eight factors to obtain a composite ranking for each of the districts within each sector a result is secured which indicates with substantial accuracy the relative social trends operative in the districts of the sectors, and furnishes ample basis for national generalizations as to trends in urban areas.

All experiments with any general weighting of the relative value of the eight factors were rejected. On the other hand exceptionally high increases in non-Protestant population elements were necessarily given unusual recognition, and the primary importance of the first three factors was sufficiently demonstrated to make their exclusive use in the New York sector seem statistically preferable to a result based on non-comparable urban and suburban data in the case of some of the other factors.

In practice, statistical data were often either wholly lacking or not capable of adjustment to the districts used. Sometimes figures were available at the beginning and at the end of the decade but were rendered useless for comparative purposes by reason of changes in accounting or in administrative procedure. Sometimes apparently satisfactory figures produced a pattern of social change which was obviously wrong, to the certain knowledge of local experts. In such instances expert judgment was invoked, never for the purpose of guessing at rates, but only for the purpose of ranking districts with reference to some particular factor concerning which the counsellor was unquestionably competent.

NUMBER OF FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE OR STATUS RANKED IN EACH SECTOR

Sector	Change	Status	Total Number of Factors Ranked
1. Albany	4	2	6
2. Chicago	4	4	8
3. Cincinnati	8	0	8
4. Cleveland	6	1	7
5. Detroit	6	2	8
6. Indianapolis	8	0	8
7. Los Angeles	4	2	6
8. Minneapolis	8	0	8
9. New York	5	3	8
10. Philadelphia	5	3	8
11. Pittsburgh	7	1	8
12. Rochester	5	3	8
13. St. Louis	5	2	7
14. Springfield	8	0	8
15. Washington	6	1	7
16. Wichita	2	4	6
Totals	91	28	119

It was sometimes possible to average data for several years at one or both ends of the decade before comparing the situation at the beginning and at the end of the decade. Unless reasonably accurate data either of change or of status were available the factor under consideration was entirely omitted in the particular sector. Sometimes it was comparatively easy to secure a competent judgment as to relative trends using exact data for status in 1920 as a base. Often status in 1930 could be taken as indicative of trend. Frequently it was possible to compare status and change in some detail. The relation between status and trend in each sector is governed by many factors, particularly by the stage in which the city happens to be.

Where social change could not be measured, it was necessary to substitute relative social status. The following table indicates the number of factors in each sector where this substitution was necessary.

Note 4: Number of Churches in Each Type of Territory
Ranking A, B, C, D, and E

Type of Area	Number of Churches Ranking					Total Number of Churches
	A	B	C	D	E	
Best	437	246	174	111	98	1,066
Above Average	396	361	327	291	208	1,583
Below Average	233	315	364	378	407	1,697
Worst	144	199	280	342	460	1,425
Total	1,210	1,121	1,145	1,122	1,173	5,771

This table summarizes sector tables which in turn summarize tables dealing with each index.

Note 5: Variant Churches and Their Distribution

RANKINGS DETERMINING VARIANT CHURCHES

Type of Territory	The following rankings determine that the church is variant
Best	Two E's, or two D's, or a D and an E
Above Average	Two E's
Below Average	Two A's
Worst	Two A's, or two B's, or an A and a B

Churches in best territory are variant when they have an E ranking on each of two indices, or a D ranking on each of two indices, or one D ranking and one E ranking, whatever the ranking is on the third index; and similarly for the other types of territory.

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL CHURCHES AND OF VARIANT CHURCHES IN EACH OF FOUR TYPES OF TERRITORY, IN BETTER AND IN POORER TERRITORY, AND IN THE TOTAL URBAN AREA STUDIED

Type of Territory	Number of Churches	Percentage of Total Number of Churches	Number of Variant Churches	Percentage of Variant Churches
Better territory	899	46	100	11.1
Best	*362*	*19*	*54*	*14.9*
Above Average....	*537*	*27*	*46*	*8.6*
Poorer territory........	1,071	54	147	13.7
Below Average	*580*	*29*	*56*	*9.7*
Worst	*491*	*25*	*91*	*18.5*
Total	1,970	100	247	12.5

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF VARIANT CHURCHES BY SECTORS

BETTER TERRITORY				**POORER TERRITORY**			
Sector	Total No. of Churches	SUB-MODAL No.	%	Sector	Total No. of Churches	SUPER-MODAL No.	%
Cincinnati	40	7	17.5	Wichita	24	6	25.0
Minneapolis ..	25	4	16.0	Detroit	113	25	22.1
Springfield	19	3	15.8	Rochester	32	6	18.8
Cleveland	45	7	15.6	Philadelphia ..	76	14	18.4
Chicago	135	21	15.6	Minneapolis ..	54	9	16.7
Rochester	62	8	12.9	Indianapolis ...	53	8	15.1
Wichita	24	3	12.5	Washington ...	55	8	14.5
Albany	18	2	11.1	Albany	21	3	14.3
Philadelphia...	57	6	10.5	Cincinnati.....	70	10	14.3
St. Louis	41	4	9.8	Pittsburgh	81	10	12.3
Los Angeles ...	33	3	9.1	New York.....	222	24	10.8
New York	210	18	8.6	Cleveland	60	6	10.0
Washington ...	50	4	8.0	Los Angeles ...	71	7	9.9
Indianapolis ..	25	2	8.0	St. Louis......	44	4	9.1
Pittsburgh	68	5	7.4	Chicago	78	6	7.7
Detroit	47	3	6.4	Springfield	17	1	5.9
All sectors.....	899	100	11.1	All sectors....1,071		147	13.7

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF VARIANT CHURCHES BY EIGHT MAJOR DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS

BETTER TERRITORY				**POORER TERRITORY**			
Denomi- nation	Total No. of Churches	SUB-MODAL		Denomi- nation	Total No. of Churches	SUPER-MODAL	
		No.	%			No.	%
Congregational	59	13	22.0	Baptist........	119	24	21.2
Prot. Epis. ...	152	20	13.2	Methodist.....	169	27	16.0
28 small bodies.	136	18	13.2	Congregational	62	9	14.5
Disciples	33	4	12.1	Disciples	42	6	14.3
Methodist	169	18	10.7	Lutheran......	152	20	13.2
Presbyterian ..	152	13	8.6	Presbyterian..	172	21	12.2
Lutheran	96	7	7.3	28 small bodies	186	21	11.3
Baptist........	102	7	6.9	Prot. Epis. ...	169	19	11.2
Totals.......	899	100	11.1	Totals......	1,071	147	13.7

Appendix B

SUMMARY TABLES AND THE SCHEDULE USED

TABLE 1—PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES IN TOTAL TERRITORY STUDIED, IN BETTER TERRITORY AND IN POORER, REPORTING CERTAIN SCHEDULED ITEMS

Schedule Number of Item		Item	Percentage of Churches Reporting	Percentage of Churches in Better Territory Reporting	Percentage of Churches in Poorer Territory Reporting
I	1	The area within a mile of this church furnishes a natural constituency of people of the race, faith and ecclesiastical type represented by this church	54%	72%	40%
I	2	The population surrounding this church is racially and so-cially homogeneous	50	66	36
I	3	Compared with the city as a whole the amount of home ownership in the vicinity of this church is			
		(a) more than average	28	51	11
		(c) less than average	31	11	52
I	4	Compared with the city as a whole the amount of light housekeeping in the vicinity of the church is			
		(a) more than average	23	6	39
		(c) less than average	47	69	32
I	5	Compared with the city as a whole the amount of apart-ment house population in the vicinity of the church is			
		(a) more than average	22	10	32
		(c) less than average	44	57	37

TABLE 1—*Continued*

Schedule Number of Item		Item	Percentage of Churches Reporting	Percentage of Churches in Better Territory Reporting	Percentage of Churches in Poorer Territory Reporting
II	1	This church has the reputation of ministering predominantly to the following social, economic or racial classes, so that others do not feel at home			
		(b) middle class	64%	70%	59%
		(c) wage earners	57	51	62
II	2	The particular constituency referred to in II, 1, is colonized in territory adjacent to the church	31	59	25
II	4a	The financial situation of this church is due to exceptionally large contributions from a few people	23	5	39
II	5	This church has been affected by unforeseen change in its financial resources due to			
		(a) increase in value of church site or other church property	13	16	12
		(c) marked decrease in wealth of constituents	19	15	23
IV	3b2	This church has been unable to win a response on the part of people of a lower social and economic status who have moved into its neighborhood	15	9	20
IV	5	The number of people of the type to which this church has historically and characteristically ministered is			
		(b) increasing	38	58	30
		(c) decreasing	25	12	40
IV	6	Within the past decade a considerable proportion of our best leaders and largest givers			
		(a) has removed from the vicinity of the church	47	29	63
		(b) has moved into the vicinity	14	24	5
V	14	This church employs a secretary	29	21	36
VII	1a	The program of this church has been seriously affected within a decade by squabbles	18	24	14
VII	2	The salary paid the minister is commensurate with the professions of loyalty and affection on the part of the congregation	67	53	79
VIII	3a	This church calls itself a community church	17	22	13
VIII	7a	This church is regarded as the outstanding church in the denomination in the city	23	20	25
VIII	8a	This church is recognized as possessing historic prestige	30	18	38
		(1) This has been a distinct advantage	23	17	29
VIII	10b3	The predominant theological tendency of our church is liberal	32	35	29

TABLE 2—SUB-MODAL DEVIATION FROM THE AVERAGE RATE WITH WHICH
CERTAIN SCHEDULED ITEMS ARE REPORTED

PERCENTAGE OF PLUS OR MINUS DEVIA-TION FROM AVERAGE RATE	SCHEDULE ITEM NUMBER	SCHEDULE ITEM	FREQUENCY %	Class
Considerable Deviation				
62	VIII 12 a	Church Too Small..........................	28	Low
56	VII 4 b	Lacking in Morale..........................	24	Low
52	II 5 e	Decrease in Wealth..........................	22	Low
−49	VII 4 a	Morale and Cohesiveness...................	26	Low
46	VII 1 abc	Squabbles, Scandals and Schisms...........	41	Medium
45	V 3 b	Lack of Publicity..........................	39	Medium
−43	VII 3 b	Unanimity and Loyalty.....................	31	Medium
Medium Deviation				
36	II 1 d	Financial Inability..........................	26	Low
−35	II 6 a	Exceptional Lay Leadership.................	24	Low
33	VII 2	Salary Commensurate with Lay Loyalty......	39	Medium
33	III 3 b	Removal Outside Neighborhood..............	20	Low
32	VIII 10 b 3	Liberal in Theology........................	50	High
−31	III 1 a	Strategic Location..........................	33	Medium
30	V 6	Failure to get Financial Response............	27	Low
Slight Deviation				
−25	IV 5 b	Number of People of Type Served Increasing..	37	Medium
−22	V 1 c	Quality of Present Pastoral Leadership........	22	Low
20	II 6 b	Lack of Lay Leadership.....................	33	Medium

TABLE 3—SUPER-MODAL DEVIATION FROM THE AVERAGE RATE WITH
WHICH CERTAIN SCHEDULED ITEMS ARE REPORTED

PERCENTAGE OF DEVIATION FROM AVERAGE RATE	SCHEDULE ITEM NUMBER	SCHEDULE ITEM	FREQUENCY %	Class
Considerable				
49	V 3 a	Publicity.................................	28	Medium
42	VIII 7 a	Outstanding Church in Denomination........	35	Medium
40	V 1 c	Quality of Present Pastoral Leadership........	46	High
38	II 6 a	Exceptional Lay Leadership.................	48	High
Medium				
32	II 1 d	Power to Attract Academic and Student Types	21	Low
31	VIII 10 b 1	Fundamentalist............................	51	High
29	VIII 10 a	Theologically Distinctive....................	42	High
28	IV 3 b 1	Church Has Developed Because of Response of Newcomers...............................	24	Low
−28	II 3 b	Averse to Change..........................	20	Low
Slight				
20	IV 3 a 1	Anticipated Changes........................	30	Medium

Note on Tables 2 and 3

With reference to all comparisons among different groups of
churches as to any one of the 207 items of the schedule on which
replies were tabulated, the following rule was observed: Items
checked by less than 20 per cent. of the churches in any group
of churches under consideration were eliminated on the ground

that the infrequency of their occurrence indicated that they had little significance. When rates of variance were compared, any deviation of less than a fifth was likewise excluded on the ground that such a small deviation did not indicate any real difference. Not all the points of contrast between variant and average churches are shown in these two tables. Geographical distribution of members, program and staff items are treated in separate tables.

TABLE 4—MEMBERSHIP WITHIN A MILE OF ALL CHURCHES AND OF VARIANT CHURCHES, BY TYPE OF PARISH AND OF TERRITORY

			CHURCHES IN BETTER TERRITORY				CHURCHES IN POORER TERRITORY			
Type of Parish	All Churches		All		Sub-Modal		All		Super-Modal	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Scattered Less than 50% of membership within a mile of the church	287	35.3	61	15.9	5	11.1	226	52.6	43	46.7
Medium										
50-59%	103	12.7	50	13.1	8	17.8	53	12.3	10	10.9
60-69%	79	9.6	32	8.4	2	4.4	47	10.9	11	12.0
Compact										
70-79%	94	11.6	58	15.1	10	22.2	36	8.4	11	12.0
80-89%	73	9.0	48	12.5	7	15.6	25	5.8	5	5.4
Very Compact										
90-99%	143	17.6	105	27.4	10	22.2	38	8.8	10	10.9
100%	34	4.2	29	7.6	3	6.7	5	1.2	2	2.1
Total	813	100.0	383	100.0	45	100.0	430	100.0	92	100.0

TABLE 5—STAFF SERVICE EMPLOYED BY ALL CHURCHES AND BY VARIANT CHURCHES, BY TYPE OF TERRITORY

Staff Position	Better Territory 454 Churches %	Sub-Modal 54 %	Poorer Territory 540 Churches %	Super-Modal 112 %	Total 994 Churches %
Minister	97.4	85.2	92.5	86.6	94.6
Asst. Minister	6.2	.0	12.6	8.0	9.7
Pastor's Asst.	7.3	5.6	8.1	13.4	7.8
R. E. Director	9.3	3.7	9.8	9.8	9.6
Young People's Worker	3.5	1.9	4.8	1.8	4.2
Athletic or Recreational Director	3.3	.0	4.1	2.7	3.7
Church Secretary	20.9	16.7	34.3	17.9	28.2
Finance Secretary	5.7	3.7	8.1	7.1	7.0
Visitor	3.3	1.9	11.1	7.1	7.5
Deaconess	2.6	3.7	5.9	6.2	4.4
Part-time Boys' or Girls' Worker	1.3	3.7	3.3	2.7	2.4
Part-time Assistant Minister	.7	1.9	1.9	.0	1.3
Miscellaneous	13.7	7.4	29.6	23.2	22.2

TABLE 6—NUMBER OF ITEMS OF PROGRAM AND EQUIPMENT IN EACH OF FOUR FREQUENCIES REPORTED BY 454 CHURCHES IN BETTER TERRITORY, BY 540 CHURCHES IN POORER TERRITORY, AND BY VARIANTS IN EACH GROUP

| | NUMBER OF ITEMS REPORTED BY CHURCHES | | | |
| | Better Territory | | Poorer Territory | |
Frequency	All Churches	54 Sub-modal	All Churches	112 Super-modal
Most Frequent				
(over 50%)	15	11	13	13
Somewhat Frequent				
(31% to 50%)	12	9	15	11
Occasionally Found				
(15% to 30%)	13	15	13	16
Rare				
(Less than 15%)	14	19	13	14
Total Number of Items	54	54	54	54

TABLE 7—FREQUENCY OF 54 ITEMS OF PROGRAM AND EQUIPMENT IN 454 CHURCHES IN BETTER TERRITORY, AND IN 540 CHURCHES IN POORER TERRITORY, SHOWING CONTRAST BETWEEN VARIANT AND AVERAGE CHURCHES

Key to Frequency Rankings:
A—Item occurs in over 50% of the cases involved.
B—   30% to 50%
C—   15% to 30%
D—   less than 15%

| Schedule Number (VI) Item | Frequency in Better Territory | | Frequency in Poorer Territory | |
	All (454) Churches	54 Sub-Modal Churches	All (540) Churches	112 Super-Modal Churches
1. Full time minister	A	A	A	A
2. Sunday morning service	A	A	A	A
3. Sunday evening service	A	B	A	A
4. Sunday School	A	A	A	A
5. Women's Society (Ladies' Aid)	A	A	A	A
6. Women's Missionary Society	A	A	A	A
7. Young People's Society	A	A	A	A
8. Chorus Choir	A	A	A	A
9. General Social Events	A	A	A	A
10. Men's Organization .	A	B	A	A
11. Boy Scouts	A	B	B	B
12. Mission Study Classes	A	B	B	B
13. Organized Welcome	C	C	C	C
14. Orchestra or Band	C	D	C	C
15. Boys' Club (not Scouts)	C	C	C	C
16. Lectures	C	C	C	B
17. Library	C	D	B	C
18. Girls' Club (not Scouts)	B	C	B	B
19. Concerts	B	C	B	C
20. Girl Scouts or equivalent	B	C	C	C
21. Mothers' or Parent Organization	C	C	C	C
22. Young Women's Organization	B	B	B	B
23. Dramatics or Dramatic Club	B	B	B	C
24. Gymnasium Classes	C	D	C	D
25. Sewing Classes	D	D	D	D
26. Kindergarten	C	D	C	C
27. Domestic Science Classes	D	D	D	D
28. Employment Office	D	D	D	D
29. Music Class	D	D	D	D
30. Visiting Nurse	D	D	D	D

TABLE 7—*Continued*

Key to Frequency Rankings:
    A—Item occurs in over 50% of the cases involved.
    B—   30% to 50%
    C—   15% to 30%
    D—   less than 15%

Sched-ule Number (VI)	Item	Frequency in Better Territory		Frequency in Poorer Territory	
		All (454) Churches	54 Sub-Modal Churches	All (540) Churches	112 Super-Modal Churches
31.	Health Classes	D	D	D	D
32.	English Classes	D	D	D	D
33.	Dramatic Classes	D	D	D	D
34.	Day Nursery	D	D	D	D
35.	Dispensary or Clinic	D	D	D	D
36.	Civics and Economics Classes	D	D	D	D
37.	Coöperation with Social Agencies	B	C	B	B
38.	Church office open daily	B	B	B	A
39.	Organized athletics	C	C	B	B
40.	Church open daily for devotion	D	D	C	C
41.	Vacation school	B	C	B	C
42.	Motion pictures	C	D	C	C
43.	Children's congregation	C	C	C	C
44.	Week Day Religious Education	B	C	C	C
45.	Children's sermon	B	C	B	B
46.	Sunday evening tea	C	C	C	C
47.	Forum	D	D	D	D
48.	Room and Board	D	D	D	D
49.	Annual Every Member Financial Canvass	A	A	A	A
50.	Calendar or Bulletin issued weekly	A	A	A	B
51.	S. S. financed by church as part of regular budget	C	C	B	C
52.	Special religious education board	B	B	B	B
53.	Outside bulletin board with weekly notices	A	A	A	A
54.	Mimeograph	B	B	B	B

Factors Affecting Progress of Churches

Check List for Local Churches

Name of church and denomination	Address - street number and city

DIRECTIONS:

1. The following is a classified list of statements describing the situation or conditions in city churches. Wherever one of these statements is TRUE with regard to your church, check in the column headed "Check Here".

2. Where blank space is provided, fill in the information called for.

3. Where statements are false or irrelevant, leave space blank. In case of an emphatic negative write in the word "No".

4. In case of doubt or when additional information is significant use the "Explanations and Remarks" column.

No.	ITEM	CHECK HERE	EXPLANATIONS AND REMARKS
	I. *Composition and Character of Community as Related to Church*		
1	The area within a mile of this church furnishes a natural constituency of people of the race, faith, and ecclesiastical type represented by this church.		
2	The population surrounding this church is racially and socially homogeneous.		

3	Compared with the city as a whole the amount of home owner-ship in the vicinity of this church is
	  a) more than average
	  b) average
	  c) less than average		

4	Compared with the city as a whole the amount of rooming house and light housekeeping population in the vicinity of this church is
	  a) more than average
	  b) average
	  c) less than average		

5	Compared with the city as a whole the proportion of apartment house population in the vicinity of this church is
	  a) more than average
	  b) average
	  c) less than average		

	II. *Characteristics of Constituency*		

1	This church has the reputation of ministering predominantly to one or more of the following social, economic or racial classes, so that others do not feel at home
	  a) wealthy, cultured
	  b) middle class
	  c) wage earners
	  d) academic and student
	  e) foreign language or nationality
	  f) Negro		

2	The particular constituency referred to in II, 1 is colonized in territory adjacent to the church		

3	The constituency of this church is
	  a) unusually clannish
	  b) averse to change in church methods		

No.	ITEM	CHECK HERE	EXPLANATIONS AND REMARKS
4	The financial situation of this church is due a) to exceptionally large contributions from a few people		
	b) to a large number of generous givers		
	c) to the inability of the constituency to support the church adequately		
	d) to reaction after previous strenuous financial effort		
5	This church has been affected by unforeseen change in its financial resources, due to a) increase in value of church site or other church property		
	b) marked increase in wealth of constituents		
	c) marked decrease in wealth of constituents		
6	This church is characterized by a) exceptional lay leadership		
	b) lack of lay leadership		
7	The neighborhood of this church is characterized by a) a large number of children per family		
	b) an average number of children per family		
	c) a small number of children per family		
	III. *Church as Related to Community Structure*		
1	This church has had a distinct advantage on account of being a) strategically located		
	b) easily accessible to its constituency		
2	There are physical barriers and obstructions which a) limit this parish		
	b) divide this parish		

3	This church has been re-located within the last decade
	  a) by removal to a more favorable location within the
	      neighborhood		

	b) by removal to a more favorable location outside the neighborhood		
	c) The present site is......miles from the former location		

	d) The removal was influenced by one or more of the
	      following adverse conditions'
	      (1) encroachment of business		

	(2) increase of foreign population		
	(3) increase of Negro population		
	(4) general depreciation of the area		
	e) The removal was advantageous because		
	(1) we were able to sell out at a higher price		
	(2) it brought the church nearer the center of its constituency		
	(3) it freed the church from fear of encroachment (a) by business		
	(b) by foreign population		
	(c) by Negro population		

	f) If there are any points in which anticipated advantages
	      have not been secured, list them in "Explanations"
	      column		

	IV. *Church as Related to Social Process*		

1	This church has been
	  a) so recently organized that it has not become strongly
	      established		

	b) so recently removed to this neighborhood that it has not become acclimatized		

No.	ITEM	CHECK HERE	EXPLANATIONS AND REMARKS
2	This church is so old that it finds difficulty in modifying its traditions and adjusting itself to new conditions.		
3	This church has a) (1) greatly benefited because it has been able to anticipate and capitalize noteworthy changes in the social development and group attitudes of its constituency in the last decade.		e. g. by ministering to the progressive youth of a conservative constituency, or the fully Americanized youth of a foreign speaking parish
	(2) been severely handicapped because it has not been able to do this		
	b) (1) developed because of the response to its ministry on the part of people of a lower social and economic status who have moved into its neighborhood		
	(2) been unable to develop such a ministry		
4	· Masses of constituents have been directed toward (T) or away from (A) this church during the last decade by a) secret orders b) labor groups c) student groups d) other...............	T A T A T A T A	
5	The number of people of the type to which this church has historically and characteristically ministered is a) stationary b) increasing c) decreasing		Specify type
6	Within the past decade a considerable proportion of our best leaders and largest givers a) has removed from the vicinity of the church b) has moved into the vicinity of the church		
7	There is an incoming population whose social standards are in advance of the tradition and facilities of this church, e. g. a) suburban type superimposed on rural situation b) high class apartment house on middle or lower class neighborhood		Cite any other instance

8   In order to meet recognized changes in the social quality and needs of the community, the following changes in policy, program, type of leadership, and variety of staff have been made within a decade:

Other changes which we regarded as desirable but were unable to effect:

Further desirable changes which the church has not recognized:

	V. *Institutional Characteristics*		
1	The fact that this church stands out above or below the average in this neighborhood in rate of progress during the last decade is largely accounted for by a) the quality of work done by my predecessor		
	b) the quality of work done by other staff members beside the pastor		
	c) the quality of the present pastoral leadership		

No.	Item	Check Here	Explanations and Remarks
2	The development of this church has been seriously handicapped by debt 　　　Amount of debt on church property .... 　　　　　　current expenses		
3	This church has 　a) profited greatly by a program of intensive publicity 　b) definitely suffered by lack of a publicity program 　c) the reputation of being sensational		
4	This church 　a) has one or more branches which are ecclesiastically accounted for as part of the parent church. 　b) maintains a non-church affiliated institution		e. g., neighborhood house
5	Although retaining the form of a church the essential function of this organization is that of a social settlement		
6	The financial situation of this church is largely due to failure to get a response fairly commensurate with the average wealth of its constituency		e. g., inadequate financial policy, or lack of systematic financial program
7	This church represents the combination of two or more churches within the last decade		Give names
8	The inmates of an adjacent institution constitute an essential factor in the constituency of this church.		such as Children's Home, Old People's Home, Hospital, School, etc. Give names

Quantitative Data—please fill in the blanks

9a Year church was organized ....   9b Year present building was erected ....

10a Present church membership ...... 10b Sunday School enrollment ....

11a Percentage of membership living within a half mile of the church ......

　b Percentage of membership living within a mile of the church ....

12a Average home mission or church extension aid received during the last decade ....

　b Amount this year ....

　c Amount of building grant received during the last decade ....

　d Amount of building loan received during the last decade ....

13　 Amount of productive endowment ....

14　 List of paid workers and positions they occupy:

VI. *Program and Equipment*

Of the current items our program include those checked: They have been in active operation during past year.

	Check Item		Check Item		Check Item
1 Full time minister	....	4 Sunday School	....	7 Young People's Society...........	....
2 Sunday morning service	....	5 Women's Society (Ladies' Aid)...	....	8 Chorus Choir	....
3 Sunday evening service	....	6 Women's Missionary Society	....	9 General Social Events	....

(4)

	Check Item		Check Item		Check Item
10 Men's Organization	....	26 Kindergarten	....	42 Motion pictures	....
11 Boy Scouts	....	27 Domestic Science Classes	....	43 Children's congregation	....
12 Mission Study Classes	....	28 Employment Office	....	44 Week Day Religious Education	....
13 Organized Welcome	....	29 Music Class	....	45 Children's sermons	....
14 Orchestra or Band	....	30 Visiting Nurse	....	46 Sunday evening tea	....
15 Boys' Club (not Scouts)	....	31 Health Classes	....	47 Forum	....
16 Lectures	....	32 English Classes	....	48 Room and Board	....
17 Library	....	33 Dramatic Classes	....	49 Annual Every Member Financial Canvass	....
18 Girls' Club (not Scouts)	....	34 Day Nursery	....	50 Calendar or Bulletin issued weekly	..
19 Concerts	....	35 Dispensary or Clinic	....	51 S. S. financed by church as part of regular budget	....
20 Girl Scouts or equivalent	....	36 Civics and Economic Classes	....	52 Special religious education board	....
21 Mothers' or Parent Organization	....	37 Co-operation with Social Agencies	....	53 Outside bulletin board with weekly notices	....
22 Young Women's Organization	....	38 Church office open daily	....	54 Mimeograph	....
23 Dramatics or Dramatic Club	....	39 Organized athletics	....		
24 Gymnasium Classes	....	40 Church open daily for devotion	....		
25 Sewing Classes	....	41 Vacation school	....		

The following activities would be especially appropriate to our situation and within our resources, but we lack the equipment to undertake them:

The following activities in our program we are unable to carry on efficiently because of inadequate facilities:

No.	Item	Check Here	Explanations and Remarks
	VII. *Internal Attitudes and Relationships*		
1	The program of this church has been seriously affected within a decade by		
	a) squabbles		
	b) scandals		
	c) schisms		
2	The salary paid the minister is commensurate with the professions of loyalty and affection on the part of this congregation		
3	The progress of this church has been affected within a decade by a) persistent differences of opinion between the minister and the lay leadership		Illustrate either
	b) exceptional unanimity and loyalty		
4	This church is a) distinguished by institutional morale and cohesiveness		
	b) distinctly lacking in institutional morale and cohesiveness		
	VIII. *Ecclesiastical and External Relationships*		
1	This church is so located as to be a) in appreciable competition with another church of the same denomination		
	b) in recognized competition with one or more churches of other denominations		
2	This church is protected in an exclusive or recognized parish by an interdenominational agreement		
3	This church a) calls itself a community church		
	b) The announced purpose to function as such has been (1) advantageous		
	(2) disadvantageous		
	c) is recognized as a community church by interdenominational agreement		

(5)

No.	ITEM	CHECK HERE		EXPLANATIONS AND REMARKS
4	During the last decade . . . . . . % of the accessions to this church by letter have come from churches of other denominations			
5	This church is actually administered by a denominational (D) or interdenominational board (I), composed of persons outside of the church			
6	This church 　a) is recognized as one which has received unusual denominational assistance			
	b) has been criticized on this account			
7	This church is regarded as 　a) the outstanding church in the denomination in the city			
	b) Prestige due to this reputation has been an essential factor in its development			
8	This church is recognized as possessing 　a) historic prestige			
	(1) This has been a distinct advantage			
	(2) This has been a disadvantage			
	b) social prestige			
	(1) This has been a distinct advantage			
	(2) This has been a disadvantage			
9	Our denomination is well established in this section of the country			
10	Our church has the reputation of being 　a) theologically distinctive			
	b) Its predominant tendency is			
	(1) fundamentalist			
	(2) conservative			
	(3) liberal			
	(4) radical			
11	The outreach of this church is limited (L) or assisted (A) by distinctive denominational emphases: (check which) 　a)　　　(1) open communion	L	A	
	(2) closed communion	L	A	
	b)　　　(1) liturgical services	L	A	
	(2) non-liturgical services	L	A	
	c)　　　(1) "high" theory of the church	L	A	
	(2) "low" theory of the church	L	A	
12	This church because of its small size has difficulty 　a) to live up to denominational standards 　b) to finance a program adequate to the needs of the community			e. g., Sunday School grading, constitutional or standard organizations, etc.

I graduated from . . . . College in the class of . . . .

I spent . . . . years at . . . . College, but did not graduate.

I graduated from . . . . Seminary in the class of . . . .

I have had . . . . years of graduate work.

I have been in the ministry . . . . years and with this church . . . . years.

　　　　　　　　(Signature) . . . .

　　　　　　　　(Address) . . . .

Appendix C

INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACTION ON COÖPERATION

Church Adaptation

The response of the church to the needs of the changing city must be a varied one.

DOWNTOWN CHURCHES

In the great central areas of the city's life there should be a few well-staffed, well-equipped churches, supplementing each other by their differing ministries. Such churches should render a definite service to the surrounding neighborhoods. They should also serve as centers of church life and religious thinking for the entire metropolitan region. Their institutional service and their prophetic utterances are of basic importance to the entire life of the city. Just what churches are most fit to perform such a dual and difficult rôle should be a matter of coöperative agreement among the Protestant forces of the city.

In the areas slightly removed from the central business focus of the city there should be churches only less highly organized. Near the sub-centers of business and entertainment there should be similar coördination of effort among churches most fit to supplement one another in a varied ministry.

RESIDENTIAL CHURCHES

In the residential sections of the city proper there should be churches of such size and distribution as can render the type of service and conduct the sort of programs demanded by a variety of constituencies. No longer is it necessary to proceed by rule of thumb in locating such enterprises or in the budgeting of their expenditures. Case studies of successful churches in residential as well as in more central areas now suggest the main lines of achievement, though standardization in any rigid sense is both impossible and undesirable.

SUBURBAN CHURCHES

On the suburban fringe of every urban area there is found a zone alike of privilege and responsibility. Statesmanlike occupation of industrial suburbs and coöperative strategy to avoid overchurching in the better residential suburbs is imperative.

Gradually the home base of urban Protestantism tends to shift from the oldest churches at the heart of the city to the great new churches in the more fortunate suburbs. Such a trend causes constant loss by transfer from the churches nearer the center to the churches nearer the circumference of the urban area. Whether any given church member or family should continue membership in a more central church or should become a part of some newer enterprise, is one of the most difficult problems of the urban church. Since the more central churches cannot survive without active lay leadership, the rule of behavior seems to be that working and supporting members who are willing to retain vigorous partnership in the old churches should by all means do so, while those who are able to render more willing and more competent service in the newer churches should be encouraged to do this. Increasingly it becomes evident that none of the churches of a metropolitan area exists alone. From central urban area to suburban fringe the problem of the city is one problem, and the interests of all are bound up together. A new and intimate partnership of these concentric circles of city church life is imperative.

It is obvious that under contemporary conditions with varied denominational traditions and cultural inclinations, the geographical distribution of churches must be supplemented by the specialized appeal of certain churches which represent the organization of particular interests, through a new principle of selective parish distribution. This principle is greatly reënforced by the wise use of the automobile. Strategic location and functional specialization alike are required of the city church if it is to deploy its forces for an adequate occupation of the modern urban region. The changing city emphasizes anew the necessity laid upon the church to save the community and not to save itself. The city church must be a nucleus

for the integrating process for the community. It must think in terms of service and not desert a field because of difficulties.—*Data Book.* North American Home Missions Congress, Volume I, immediately following p. 48 being pp. 4, 5, 6 of the Findings of the Conference on "The Church in the Changing City" held in Detroit, Feb. 17–19, 1930, under the auspices of the Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions.

CITY STRATEGY AND CITY PLANNING

The conception of city missions has radically changed in recent years. The typical city mission society has become a church city society with vastly increased responsibilities.

The denominational church city society has been strongly influenced by municipal city planning; it thinks of the city and its unit neighborhoods but also of the city as a whole set in its environs; it thinks of the city today but also of the city of tomorrow; it thinks of the people as a whole in their corporate and composite life but also of varieties of peoples that make up these vast aggregations.

It aims to equalize religious privilege for all peoples. It aims at a mutual exchange between areas of privilege and areas of deterioration, and especially to draw resources and leadership from the one to the other.

It builds architecturally, taking into account the structure of the city. It matches variety of human needs with diversity of missionary operation. To this end it encourages the upbuilding of a great variety of churches.

To do all this at the present level of development required denominational city societies, the only agencies which are even attempting this comprehensive and highly technical task. We call attention to the strategic importance of these city societies. We urge that the denominational city societies of a given city be brought into closer working relations with each other and with the city federation of churches. *North American Home Missions Congress Reports of Commissions, Addresses and Findings, Washington, D. C., Dec. 1–5, 1930, p. 76.*

Appendix D

IRREGULAR PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

1. Variations from the Basic Population Pattern

In Chapter II the fairly regular maps of population change in Rochester and Minneapolis were presented. Usually the patterns are far less regular.

PATTERNS SHOWING EXTENDED AREAS OF LOSS

Islands and peninsulas of marked population loss are generally due to topography and the pressure of unfavorable features like railway tracks, industrial belts and race blocs. Examples are seen in Pullman, Chicago, an earlier development which has lost ground; in Braddock, an increasingly industrialized community on the east border of the Pittsburgh sector; the terminal district in the Bronx, New York, now being rapidly preëmpted for industrial development; and numerous old villages now surrounded by the cities of which they have become a part, less populous in some instances because more commercial.

Occasionally areas of population decrease are thrust out so far from the heart of the city as to adjoin areas of greatest increase. This is true in Cincinnati (cf. Map 13) where one of the most rapidly growing sections adjoins a long ribbon of riverbank that is losing population. Topographical conditions explain this contiguity. There is an abrupt rise from the narrow strip of bottom land. The top of the hill is new and desirable; the neighborhood below the hill was an area of early settlement and is now undesirable. In Cleveland a rapidly growing suburb adjoins a district that is decreasing in population because it borders railway tracks.

Sometimes areas of greatest population increase begin so near the heart of a city as to adjoin central areas of population decrease. This is evident at three points in Rochester. In Philadelphia also one passes abruptly from population loss to maximum population gain.

Islands and peninsulas of marked population gain may be due, as in Cleveland, to major real-estate operations, exceptional transportation, favorable topography or the absence of unfavorable features like railway tracks, industrial belts and race blocs.

Areas of greatest population increase are generally at some distance from the heart of the city, but not always at its outer edge. Frequently districts of greatest population increase form a solid block of territory at one side of the city.

Suburban districts, as in Detroit, may be increasing at a more moderate rate than the districts nearer the heart of the city. In Chicago the more distant residential districts are increasing at relatively low rates, or even decreasing.

Districts of moderate increase may lie at approximately the same distance from the heart of the city as districts of greater increase but parallel with them, to one side of them (either adjoining or widely separated) or interspersed among them. This is true in a number of cities, including Indianapolis and St. Louis. In half a dozen instances districts showing the lowest rates of population increase may be located in outlying positions, within the city or in suburban territory.

PATTERNS ONLY IRREGULARLY RADIAL

The patterns of population change in Albany, Los Angeles and Washington bear a real resemblance to the basic radial patterns, but are only irregularly radial.

PATTERNS DECIDEDLY ABNORMAL AS COMPARED WITH THE RADIAL NORM

The pattern of population change in the New York sector (see Map 9) is abnormal for several reasons. Manhattan Island of course represents the extreme of urbanization. Except for one district east of Central Park and the entire territory west of Central Park, all of Manhattan south of 155th Street lost population during the last decade. The northern tip of the island, however, shows a large increase. Across the Harlem River in the Bronx a district of greatest increase adjoins one of actual loss. All the largest increases in the sector occur in the

Bronx. A population gain of 600 per cent. is the phenomenal record of the district showing the greatest gain. In Westchester County the increases are much more modest, only four districts showing more than 100 per cent. gain. Peekskill, at the extreme northwest corner of the sector, is an illustration of a town not yet feeling the full influence of suburbanization.

The pattern of population change in the Chicago sector is striking in two particulars. The districts of greatest growth are located on a characteristic slant from South Shore to Morgan Park. This diagonal appears also in the pattern of total social change. In a regular radial pattern the axis of this most rapidly growing territory would run northwest to southeast instead of southwest to northeast. Available train service and high rolling land account for the thrust to the southwest. Industrialism prevents a similar residential development to the southeast. Below rather than above this area of greatest increase are ranged most of the districts of second rank as to population growth. Kenwood and Hyde Park, however, constitute an area of considerable population increase relatively close in. Offsetting this irregularity is Pullman, which showed an actual loss, while three other outlying districts showed very slight gain. The presence of these areas of exceptional rates of population change is of very great importance in understanding the varying rates of church progress.

The pattern of population change in the Pittsburgh sector (see Map 10) is marked by an outlying industrial area of loss, a solid block of districts attractively located on high land and showing the greatest gain, a long outward thrust of the area of slight increase, and irregular distribution of the districts of moderate increase. Topography has had a large hand in determining this map. It is no accident that the district in the bend of the Monongahela shows only slight increase in population.

2. Different Patterns of Total Social Change

Maps of total social change in the various sectors tend to vary widely from the symmetrical pattern of radial distribution. In Chapter II the map of the Minneapolis sector (Map 18) showed a fairly regular pattern of total social change. Most of the patterns are less regular.

IMPERFECT RADIAL PATTERNS

Albany, Cleveland, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Washington present patterns of total social change sufficiently like the basic pattern to be termed imperfectly radial rather than definitely irregular.

PATTERNS DISTORTED BY THE CHARACTERISTIC INFLUENCE OF INDUSTRY, TOPOGRAPHY AND RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

Chicago (see Map 19) and Cincinnati show a wide scattering of poorer districts and a variety of irregular relationships between the positions of above-average and best districts.

PATTERNS SHOWING OUTWARD TREND OF WORST TERRITORY

Sometimes there is a partial reversal of the position of below-average and worst territory, with acute deterioration of an occasional detached district, as in Pittsburgh, where this reversal is due largely to topography. In Pittsburgh one takes certain established routes from neighborhood to neighborhood. They may be natural, they may be man-made; but unless they are there, there may very literally be a great gulf fixed between the two neighborhoods. One walks or drives to the edge of the ravine; then one turns around and makes a long circuitous journey before the other side is reached. Only high-tension population currents, capable of bridging such gaps by costly viaducts, can leap such barriers. The Pittsburgh map is flat only on paper.

SCHEMATIZATION OF TOTAL SOCIAL CHANGE

Chart XVII seeks, through extreme simplification, to visualize these varied patterns in a single diagram. While sharp irregularities are evident, the radial pattern persists, however distorted or warped out of its original symmetry.

3. The Topography of Church Opportunity

Since church progress so largely corresponds with social trends, a map of total social change may be said to establish in impressionistic fashion the contours of white Protestant opportunity.

Such a statement requires two qualifications. First, the opportunity thus mapped is only a relative one. As the social trends are measured in relative rather than in absolute terms,

so the opportunity presented to the churches is not quantitatively described but merely relatively ranked by the contours of social change. In the second place it must be remembered that a theoretical opportunity is changed by the number of churches which embrace it. That is to say, in a district where

LEGEND

▫ Best Territory

▨ Above Average

▨ Below Average

▨ Worst Territory
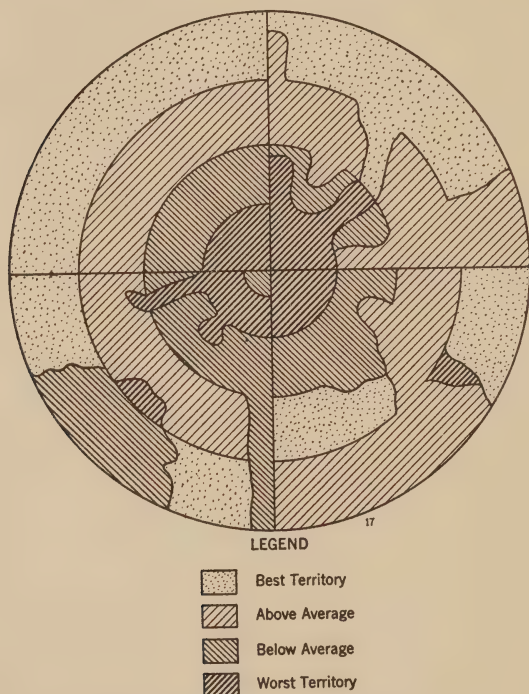
CHART XVII—Simplified schematization of the
varieties of pattern of social change

only 6 per cent. of the population is of the type ordinarily associated with a Protestant church, if the total population is a hundred thousand and all but one white Protestant church has ceased to function, that one church has a possible constituency of six thousand people. In fact, in view of the likelihood that many of those nominally associated with other faiths might conceivably be interested in a Protestant church, the poten-

tial constituency of such a church is likely to be still greater.

While the instance cited is confessedly extreme, there are numerous districts, especially in Manhattan, where the Protestant opportunity for service is to be thought of in terms of the meager number of Protestant churches located in the area. On the other hand, even the most favorable opportunity can be entirely ruined, if too many churches rush in, and competition becomes too keen.

Wherever Protestantism can acquire an adequate knowledge of the social changes taking place in a city, and can map these changes together with the kind and extent of church occupancy, such a map constitutes a clear visualization of the topography of Protestant opportunity in that city. The importance of such a base map for the continuous strategy of city church planning can hardly be overestimated. In any individual city such a map would doubtless contain a wealth of detailed information, and would represent a mass of intimate knowledge. The elaboration of detail by interested and competent local investigators affords opportunity for extended additional research, of extreme value in its administrative implications and in its educational significance.

Protestant opportunity as thus mapped would have two meanings for the church. The best opportunity for support might not at all be the greatest opportunity for service. The neighborhood affording the most meager opportunity to secure support might be the most significant field for human helpfulness. The map of Protestant opportunity would be read quite differently according to whether it was being studied with a view to available resources or with reference to human need.

Finally, practical use of such a map would take into account not simply the churches located in each district, but also those churches located elsewhere which are habitually attended by residents of the district in question.

Appendix E

THE ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION OF URBAN PROTESTANTISM

Denominational divisions in the church are supplemented by lines of economic cleavage within and among the denominations

very similar to the lines of cleavage in society in general. Actual Protestantism is made up of churches which are ranged in a number of sharply contrasting social strata. Even the suburban community church, representative of the entire population of a suburb, is differentiated from other churches by the social status of the particular suburb. If it be a high-class residential area populated by upper middle-class and wealthy people, then the church is inevitably of that sort; if it be an industrial suburb made up of wage-earners, then the church-members are inevitably of that sort. In neither case can the church avoid these class distinctions which characterize their environment. The same is equally true of the slum located near the heart of a city and of the narrow Park Avenue district of luxurious apartments and hotels. On Madison Avenue in New York or adjoining the Gold Coast in Chicago, churches may make valiant effort to draw in the poor as well as the rich, to minister to the transient rooming-house population as well as to the group paying a minimum of $400 a month apartment rent. Always such efforts, however sincere and democratic, are reported with a certain wistfulness. It is as if those making the effort had tried to do something and were not quite sure that the results obtained had genuine validity. Fifth Avenue is one thing, Second Avenue is another.

In the Roman Catholic churches, with a worship which is high drama to be witnessed by rich and poor occupying a common abject level in the presence of a deity so transcendent as to make all human distinctions irrelevant, there is the appearance of less class distinction. At the same time there is not likely to be any such social fellowship as is characteristic of Protestant churches. Protestant congregations are not simply worshipping groups, they are made up by and large of people congenial to one another and sufficiently homogeneous in type to possess a measure of social unity. Whether this be right or wrong is not here the question; it is the fact. The average Protestant church is the religious expression of the life of a group. True, the group may have no other unity than that symbolized in the particular church, but that unity may make the group one of the most real social facts in the entire urban area.

This parish unity is not a mere matter of social intercourse. The members of a Protestant church may go everywhere else

but to their church for purely human fellowship. In the same church some members may find the church a social center and others may never go near it between Sundays. Yet there is always some binding tie. Often this is a distinctive theological attitude vigorously voiced. Whether it be fundamentalist or modernist makes no difference. Sometimes it is a type of worship. Sometimes it is an economic emphasis. The lines cross and re-cross. Rich fundamentalists and poor fundamentalists agree in their fundamentalism. Educated modernists and uneducated modernists agree in their modernism. What the Roman Catholic ceremony of the mass is to rich and poor alike, an intellectual viewpoint may be to Protestant church-members far apart in other matters. But the average Protestant church is more than a place where people with a common viewpoint meet to hear it voiced; it is a more or less intimate human fellowship.

Fellowship implies and requires congeniality. Whether this be right or wrong, it is natural; and however supernatural the church may be in its mandate and function, its members are very human. As a consequence Protestants of a feather flock together. Their fortunes are the fortunes of their churches.

NO PROOF THAT THE WORKINGMAN IS DESERTING THE CHURCH

This study has made particular effort to test the truth of the statement, frequently made in recent literature, that the workingman is deserting the church. It is the opinion of the makers of the study that to say that "a workingman simply does not feel at home in a Protestant church," as has been literally asserted in a recent deservedly popular religious book, is to make a statement contrary to the facts.

On the testimony of their pastors, white Protestant churches minister primarily to middle-class and wage-earning people. While 64 per cent. of the churches serve middle-class people, 57 per cent. serve wage-earners. In better territory the members of 51 per cent. of the churches are largely wage-earners, while there are middle-class people in 70 per cent. of the churches. In poorer territory the figures are reversed; 59 per cent. of the churches minister to middle-class people, but 62 per cent. to wage-earners. So long as pastors of nearly three-fifths of the churches report that wage-earners are one of two chief groups

in their membership, it seems inaccurate to say that workingmen are not at home in Protestant churches.

That there are many non-Protestant workingmen is plain. That in many churches the workingman would doubtless feel strange is equally plain; but the same is true of many stores and other institutions. In many churches, moreover, the man of wealth would feel equally strange. For example, one church of 118 members, on detailed investigation, was found to be more and more composed of wage-earners and persons of small salaries. Not more than five families in its membership had automobiles. Another church, of the same generally prosperous denomination, but located in a city 1,500 miles away, under utterly different conditions, reported 107 families of whom only seven were not of the working class. This church is the most prosperous of a group of half a dozen churches in its primarily industrial section. The other churches would show a still higher percentage of wage-earners.

One of the most significant meanings of super-modality is that when resources are available, often through a church made up of relatively poor people massed in a unit of sufficient size to provide an adequate budget, population elements of a relatively low economic status are attracted by the Protestant church. The fact that large wealth is concentrated in central churches does not mean that the average wealth of the constituents of such churches is large. In a church of 700 families there may be two rich men; the other 698 families may be chiefly of the artisan class.

The United Religious Survey in Chicago reports: "There is no indication that labor is deserting the church. From generation to generation, laboring groups have built the largest churches." [1]

POOR PEOPLE, POOR CHURCHES

On its differing economic levels the church was the beneficiary of mounting incomes through most of the decade from 1920 to 1930. The churches were either enjoying new buildings, about to build new buildings, or remodeling old ones, according to their several abilities. That the cost of the most expensive

---

[1] *Information Service* (New York: Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Sept. 19, 1931).

churches was so much greater than the cost of the least expensive might disturb the conscience of a sensitive observer, but it seems not to have troubled the members either of the expensive or of the inexpensive churches over much. Churches differed no more than the homes of their members. Whether or not such inequalities are desirable or not is not here under consideration. The data convince the makers of this study that economic cleavage within the church is a phase of economic cleavage within society.

The social and historic determinism at work in the church as well as in the other structures of society inevitably means that the beauty and costliness of white Protestant churches vary, for the most part, according to the economic status of the worshippers. An adequate strategy offsets differences in economic status by the massing of numbers, or adequate subsidies, or both.

The rule of correspondence between church progress and social change is again illustrated by the percentage of churches increasing on each of the three indices of church progress in each of the four types of territory. Table E-1 exhibits the expected symmetry, except that in the best territory a slightly smaller percentage of the churches increased their expenditures during the last decade than in above-average territory. This is probably to be explained by reason of high initial expenditures necessary in the case of some comparatively young churches in the newest residential areas a decade ago.

TABLE E-1: PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES INCREASING IN MEMBERSHIP, SUNDAY-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND TOTAL EXPENDITURES IN EACH OF FOUR TYPES OF TERRITORY

TYPE OF TERRITORY	INDEX OF PROGRESS		
	Ch. Membership	S. S. Enrollment	Total Expenditures
Best Territory	83	75	91
Above Average	77	63	93
Below Average	62	48	86
Worst Territory	52	45	83

CHURCHES GAINING EVEN IN WORST TERRITORY

While the most frequent gains are naturally found in territory showing most rapid population growth, even in worst territory 52 per cent. of the white Protestant churches are gaining. Of the eight denominational groups studied (see Table E-2) **five**

show half or more of their churches gaining even in worst territory, Lutherans slightly less than half, and Protestant Episcopal churches only a little over a third.

TABLE E-2: PERCENTAGE OF CHURCHES GAINING IN MEMBERSHIP IN TOTAL AREA STUDIED AND IN BEST AND WORST TERRITORY, BY DENOMINATIONS

TOTAL AREA		BEST TERRITORY		WORST TERRITORY	
Denomination	%	Denomination	%	Denomination	%
Disciples	77	Prot. Epis.	89	Congregational ..	71
Congregational ..	74	Disciples	89	Presb. U. S. A...	61
Presb. U. S. A...	71	Presb. U. S. A....	88	30 Small Bodies..	57
Lutheran (10) ...	69	M. E............	87	M. E............	54
M. E............	69	Congregational ..	86	Baptist	50
Baptist	67	Baptist	82	Lutheran (10) ...	47
30 Small Bodies..	67	Lutheran (10) ..	81	Disciples	46
Prot. Epis.	58	30 Small Bodies..	71	Prot. Epis.	37
All denominations	68		83		52

While Protestant Episcopal churches are often associated with the élite, Presbyterianism is usually a close second in social status, and 61 per cent. of its churches located in the worst territory show some gain.

While Congregationalists are inclined to move to the suburbs and take their churches with them, the Congregational churches that do survive in worst territory show a more frequent ability to make some gain in membership than those of any other denomination. Only twenty-eight Congregational churches remain in worst territory in all the sixteen sectors, but twenty of these make some gain. On the other hand, in best territory four other denominations showed a greater percentage of churches gaining, and Congregationalism made its poorest showing relative to that of other denominations as to percentage of churches gaining.

In spite of the relatively slow growth of Congregational churches a higher percentage of them made some growth than of any other denomination except the Disciples, which showed a consistently high percentage of growth everywhere except in the worst territory. In the best territory the Disciples show the same percentage of churches gaining as the Protestant Episcopal churches, but the latter percentage is far more significant because the Disciples churches in best territory are only one to seven Episcopal churches.

What is true of Congregational churches is true of Baptist Sunday schools (see Table E-3). In the worst territory they show a higher percentage of gains than any other denomination, and make their relatively poorest showing in best territory. Congregationalists, on the other hand, show the lowest percentage of Sunday schools gaining in best territory of the eight denominational groups studied.

TABLE E-3: PERCENTAGE OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS GAINING IN ENROLLMENT IN TOTAL AREA STUDIED AND IN BEST AND IN WORST TERRITORY, BY DENOMINATIONS

TOTAL AREA		BEST TERRITORY		WORST TERRITORY	
Denomination	%	Denomination	%	Denomination	%
Disciples	72	Disciples	89	Baptist	60
Baptist	67	M. E............	83	Disciples	54
Lutheran (10)...	59	Lutheran (10)...	79	M. E............	51
M. E............	58	Prot. Episc......	79	Lutheran (10)....	47
30 Small Bodies..	57	Baptist	75	Congregational ..	44
Congregational ..	52	Presb., U. S. A...	71	30 Small Bodies..	42
Prot. Epis.	50	30 Small Bodies..	67	Presb., U. S. A...	38
Presb., U. S.A....	49	Congregational ..	57	Prot. Epis.	36
All denominations	56		75		45

The detailed data show that Lutheran churches made more frequent gains in church-membership in average territory than in either best or worst. While Presbyterians for some reason made their poorest relative showing in regard to percentage of churches gaining in below-average territory, they rank next to the Congregationalists in worst territory. Presbyterian Sunday schools rank consistently low as compared with the percentage of schools whose enrollment is increasing.

While the Protestant Episcopal churches tie with the Disciples in percentage of churches gaining in membership in best territory, they make the poorest showing of the eight denominational groups in poorer territory. Of eighty-seven Protestant Episcopal churches in worst territory only thirty-two gained during the decade. Does this mean that the rear-guard must always expect heavy casualties when it seeks to cover a necessary retreat?

Methodist and Protestant Episcopal Sunday schools tie for first place as to percentage increasing in better territory, but the Protestant Episcopal schools are lowest in poorer territory.

Even in the case of the denomination making the poorest

showing in worst territory such neighborhood churches as the one cited in Case 5, Chapter V, show that poor people do attend churches adapted to their needs. Numerous cases could also be cited of city-wide churches which attract people chiefly of relatively humble economic status.

Appendix F

RELATIVE SIZE AND PROGRESS OF CHURCHES AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS—TOTAL EXPENDITURES

Everybody knows that there are more church-members in American Protestant churches than there are individuals enrolled in their Sunday schools. The difference in the totals is produced for the most part by corresponding differences in the average church. Only very occasionally are Sunday schools larger than the churches with which they are associated. Such Sunday schools are usually located in areas where there are hosts of children, but sometimes their size is due to unusually large adult classes.

Urban Sunday schools are smaller than urban churches; relatively they are growing still smaller from year to year. Fewer Sunday schools than churches are increasing, and at lesser rates; more Sunday schools than churches are decreasing, and at greater rates. Median increase or decrease in Sunday-school enrollment is below the median for church-membership increase or decrease.[1]

In all probability this is largely a matter of vital statistics. A decreasing birth-rate, an increasing average age, and a decreasing proportion of children and youth are phenomena affecting the total population. Probably all of these factors are accentuated among white Protestants. The result is likely to be an increase of that adult-mindedness already evident in many churches. This has its clear dangers for a religion which seeks characteristically to put "the child in the midst." If general population trends tend to bring American population to the point

---

[1] According to the 1926 Federal Religious Census, the Methodist Episcopal Church as a whole showed a slight loss in the number of Sunday-school scholars for the decade 1916 to 1926, while church-membership in the denomination increased nearly 10 per cent. Similarly Protestant Episcopal Sunday schools were at a standstill while membership gained 25 per cent. All denominations showed a gain of 5.5 per cent. in Sunday school, but more than three times that much (17.6 per cent.) in church-membership.

of stability, as seems likely if unforeseen factors do not enter into the situation, this increasing adult quality in urban Protestantism will be accelerated, with important bearings on the location and programizing of churches.

What urbanization does to Sunday schools is seen in the New York sector. For every hundred members in their churches the Methodists of Manhattan enroll 68 individuals in their Sunday schools, the Presbyterians enroll 35.9, and the Protestant Episcopal Sunday schools enroll 19.6.

The median change in Sunday-school enrollment in Manhattan during the decade studied was a 30.6 per cent. decrease, in the Bronx a 12.4 per cent. decrease, and in Westchester County a 10.7 per cent. increase; for the New York sector a 9.6 per cent. decrease. The median change in Methodist Sunday schools in the sector was an 8 per cent. increase, in Presbyterian Sunday schools a 24 per cent. decrease, and in Protestant Episcopal Sunday schools a 3 per cent. increase.

While population showed a loss of 18.6 per cent. in Manhattan during the decade, the Methodist churches in Manhattan show a loss of 8 per cent. and their Sunday schools a loss of 13.1 per cent.; the Presbyterian churches a gain of 5.4 per cent., and their Sunday schools a loss of 41.7 per cent.; the Protestant Episcopal churches a loss of 11.2 per cent., and their Sunday schools a loss of 21.8 per cent.

New York does no more than reveal the end-product of urbanization. The same process is going on in other centers.

In spite of the erection of the magnificent new University of Chicago chapel, five churches (Baptist, Congregational, Disciples, Methodist and Presbyterian) in Hyde Park, showed an average increase of 18.1 per cent. during the decade studied. The same Sunday schools averaged a loss of 3.3 per cent. Four of the five churches gained, only two of the Sunday schools increased.

In Philadelphia, according to the April, 1930, *Bulletin of the Federation of Churches,* "a study of the membership and Sunday-school enrollment of eleven denominations covering the decade from 1919 to 1929 . . . indicates, in spite of the large growth of the city, a net gain of only 16 per cent. in church-membership and a loss of 15.6 per cent. in Sunday-school enrollment. Five of the denominations showed losses in membership

and six of them slight gains. The net numerical gain for the 514 churches covering a period of ten years was 3,858. The net numerical loss in Sunday-school enrollment of the same churches for the same period was 32,881."

In East Cleveland the proportion of Sunday-school enrollment to church-membership in one Methodist Episcopal church at the beginning of the decade studied was 58.6 per cent. This Sunday school increased 95.7 per cent. in ten years, while the church gained only 46.3 per cent. At the end of the decade the proportion of Sunday-school enrollment to church-membership had risen to 93 per cent. On the other hand, three Presbyterian churches in the same territory increased 65 per cent., while their Sunday schools grew only 41.4 per cent. At the beginning of the decade the Sunday-school enrollment was 104.6 per cent. of the church-membership in these Presbyterian churches; at the close of the decade it had dropped to 89.7 per cent. This would seem to show that, contrary to the opinion of some, smaller more numerous Sunday schools do not necessarily increase more rapidly than large, centrally located schools.

In Rochester ten out of eleven denominations showed an increase in church-membership during the decade covered in this study, while seven out of the eleven showed loss in Sunday-school enrollment. In two instances Sunday-school loss was at a greater rate than church gain. Only four of the eleven denominations showed a gain in both church-membership and Sunday-school enrollment. Two of these showed greater Sunday-school than church increase. In at least one of these instances this was probably due to earlier lack of emphasis on the Sunday school. In the other instance the Sunday school is still numerically far inferior to the church. Among the larger denominations in Rochester, as in the New York sector, the proportion of Sunday-school enrollment to church-membership is the largest among Methodists.

While Presbyterians are the largest denominational unit in Rochester their increase during the last decade is slight. The United Lutheran Church, while fifth in present strength, has made by all odds the most rapid numerical growth. A number of smaller bodies show significant rates of increase but not large absolute gains.

In the Los Angeles sector, in striking contrast to New York

and other older cities, in three out of five major denominations Sunday-school growth was more rapid than church growth during the decade studied.

Among these was the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Presbyterian Sunday schools in the Los Angeles sector closely approximated the rate of church growth for the same period. In the case of the Methodists, however, who constitute the largest Protestant body in the sector, the Sunday schools actually show a small loss (0.6 per cent.) as compared with a gain of more than 50 per cent. in church-membership. Here again, however, the proportion of Sunday-school enrollment to church-membership among the Methodists is the largest among the major denominations, except for the Disciples, whose rate of Sunday-school growth here as in Wichita, considerably exceeded that of their increase in church-membership. Regionalism, age-distribution of population, and other factors doubtless enter into the divergences between the Los Angeles sector and those of some of the cities on the eastern seaboard. Detroit figures are also more hopeful, from the standpoint of the Sunday schools, but neither Los Angeles nor Detroit is likely to continue indefinitely to increase in population at such a rapid rate.

A comparison of the facts of Sunday-school enrollment and church-membership in two small cities, so near of a size as are Wichita and Albany, and at the same time so different, is instructive. What is true of the larger cities turns out to be true of the smaller ones also.

In Wichita seven Baptist churches in July, 1929, had a combined Sunday-school enrollment slightly exceeding their church-membership. Thirteen Methodist Sunday schools totaled 96.5 per cent. of the total church-membership of the same congregations. Presbyterians showed not quite four Sunday-school enrollments for five church-members, and the Protestant Episcopal communion had only a little more than two on its Sunday-school rolls to five church communicants.

On the other hand, the Disciples of Wichita showed a decade increase in church-membership in four churches existent at the beginning of the decade, amounting to only 16.3 per cent., but the Sunday schools connected with these four congregations increased 86.3 per cent. in the same period. Meanwhile three new congregations, each with a thriving Sunday school, had been

organized in outlying districts. The Presbyterians, with six congregations existing throughout the decade, showed increased church-membership to the amount of 68.9 per cent., but Sunday-school gains in the same churches totaled only 33.7 per cent. The result of these different rates of gain in these instances was that whereas in the four Disciples churches at the beginning of the decade there were not quite forty-eight individuals enrolled in Sunday school for each hundred on the church rolls, at the end of the decade the number had risen to more than seventy-six per hundred. The Presbyterian situation reversed this, with nearly ninety Sunday-school enrollments per hundred church-members at the outset of the decade, but only seventy-one at the close.

The high Baptist Sunday-school enrollment in Wichita can doubtless be explained by regional strength and organizational zeal. The Disciples growth is also in all probability an evidence of that same enthusiasm which has meant such phenomenal growth for this communion in certain sections of the country during certain periods. The Presbyterian Sunday school's failure to keep pace with church growth suggests a certain adult-mindedness like that of the Congregationalists. That the situation should be the same in Kansas as in New York is not without meaning.

Even the Methodists seem unable to avoid the lag of Sunday-school gain behind church growth. In characteristically Methodist territory the range of thirteen Methodist churches in Wichita is from a loss of 48 per cent. to a gain of 210 per cent. in membership during the decade; but the thirteen Sunday schools showed a range of from 47 per cent. loss to 187 per cent. gain— a perceptibly shorter range than that shown by the church-membership percentages. What is still more significant is that while ten of these churches gained, only seven of the Sunday schools increased. One begins to suspect that the relationship between church and Sunday-school figures is not a denominational matter.

Despite the fact that it is located in an entirely different section of the country under quite different conditions, Albany tells the same story. Perhaps because Albany is an old city its record is distinctly less encouraging for the Sunday school. Of six leading denominations five showed an increase in church-

membership, but only three in Sunday-school enrollment. With slight church-membership loss for the decade the Baptist Sunday schools in Albany show a 26 per cent. decrease in enrollment. Moreover, the proportion of Sunday-school enrollment to church-membership in these five Baptist churches dropped from 71.1 per cent. to 55.1 per cent. during the decade. That this is not a denominational matter is indicated by the fact that with a church-membership gain of 56 per cent. (five times as rapid as population growth) the five Methodist Sunday schools in Albany showed a gain of only 13.5 per cent. for the decade, while the proportion of Sunday-school enrollment to church-membership dropped from 91.7 per cent. to 69.7 per cent. during the same period. This last figure is, to be sure, the highest for any major denomination in Albany, and may quite possibly be due to Methodist interest in sharing in the largest possible number of parish activities. The largest denominational group in Albany, the United Lutheran, grew three times as fast as the city, but the Presbyterians and the Protestant Episcopal Church, both more numerous than the Methodists in Albany, grew at a less rapid rate than the population. Presbyterians made a 9 per cent. increase in church-membership, but lost 18 per cent. in Sunday-school enrollment, the proportion of the latter to the former dropping from 62.9 per cent. to 47.2 per cent. In spite of Sunday-school gains approaching the increase in their communicant membership, the Protestant Episcopal churches show a decreasing ratio between the two enrollments. In the case of the Reformed Church in America the Albany figures are still more unfavorable in the Sunday school. In fact, in the case of all six of the major denominations in Albany the Sunday school failed to keep pace with church growth, and its size has grown steadily smaller as compared with the church. When thirty-four churches of six denominations are considered, Sunday schools in Albany at the end of the decade enrolled less than 52 per cent. as many as the thirty-four congregations did, whereas the percentage had been nearly 56 ten years earlier.

More detailed and inclusive comparison of similar data in all the sectors would yield similarly rewarding results. These examples are sufficient to show that religious-education administrators have as yet hardly begun to explore the implications of

certain fairly simple but time-consuming analyses of published church data.

Total Expenditures

This study does not undertake to discuss church expenditures of average churches even in the brief fashion with which church-membership and Sunday-school enrollment have been discussed. Any adequate treatment of the third index of church progress would require an averaging of the budgets at the beginning and at the end of the decade with totals by denominations for each sector. The purposes of this study have not seemed to justify the computation of such results for all of the sectors. Results obtained in a portion of the cities point in the direction of a regional rather than a denominational explanation of varying rates of expenditure. That is to say, the reason why certain denominations spend more than others, per congregation or per capita, is probably to be found in connection with the relative strength and contemporary progress of each denomination in each region. Thus, for example, it is probably not an accident that in Rochester and in Albany the United Lutheran Church should show by far the highest percentage of increase in total expenditures among the leading denominations in these cities, or that the New York City figures should show intensive development on the part of this body. In Los Angeles, on the other hand, Baptists, Disciples and the Protestant Episcopal Church show expenditure increases corresponding to their great membership gains; but the Presbyterian gains, which in terms of church-membership and Sunday-school enrollment are larger than those of the three denominations just mentioned, are not matched by similar expenditure increases during the last decade. This may well be explained by compensatingly large Presbyterian expenditures in earlier decades. The data have not been sufficiently examined to justify any general statement as to divergences among the denominations in the rates of increase or decrease of their budgets. It is to be expected that such figures would show some relationship to the increase of wealth in the several denominations. Here again is material for further study, some of it possible on the basis of published figures, but all of it requiring for its fullest significance more geographical analysis than ordinary denominational statistics provide.

INDEX

Adams, Thos., **184 N**
Adaptability, 166
Adaptation, 166, 219
  competition in, **187**
Adequate churching, lack of co-
    öperation prevents, 186
Affiliable population, increase or
    decrease in, **40, 49**
Albany, 30
Anderson and Lindeman (*Urban
    Sociology*), **46 N**
Apartment houses, 14, 54
Average churches, 106, 109
Averseness to change, 166

Baltimore Retail Trade Survey, **9 N**
Baptist churches, 71
Bogardus, **8 N**
Border territory, 161-163
Bridges, Robert, **16 N**
Building, 158
Burgess, Ernest W., **7**

Case studies, 112-132
Census,
  Federal, of 1930, 194
  Federal, of religious bodies, for
    1926, **71**
Changing church, see "Church, the"
Changing city, the, see "City, the
    Changing"
Characteristic churches, 97
Chicago, 30, 41, 59, 65
Church, the,
  a neighborhood enterprise, **11**
  and changing cities, 3
  changing, 15
  characteristic deviations from
    average, 106
  competition within control of, 188

Church, the—*Continued*
  definition and isolation of variant
    churches, 22
  downtown, 219
  employing and retaining adequate
    pastoral leadership, 145
  environment of urban, 36
  exceptional churches, 23
  expenditures, 74
  grades of progress, **79**
  inquiring about, 18
  location, 161
  membership, **73**
  membership in, within a mile, 12
  progress, 70, 194
  ranking and grouping the, **79**
  residential, 219
  sample of urban churches, 70
  sub- and super-modal churches,
    23 N (see also "Super-Modal
    Churches" and "Sub-Modal
    Churches")
  Sunday-school enrollment, 74
  suburban, 220
  variant churches, see "Variant
    Church"
Church opportunity, topography of,
    225
Church progress and social change
    compared, 19, 82
Cincinnati, 55
Cities studied, 30
City, the changing,
  its churches, 3
  physical topography, 4
  sorts its people, 4
City planning, 221
  church strategy, 184
City-wide churches, 22, 116
Clannishness, **166 N**

241

Date Due